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Vol. XVI

JANUARY, 1917

No. 3

The  
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!  
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her!"*

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Published by  
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY  
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

EDITOR.

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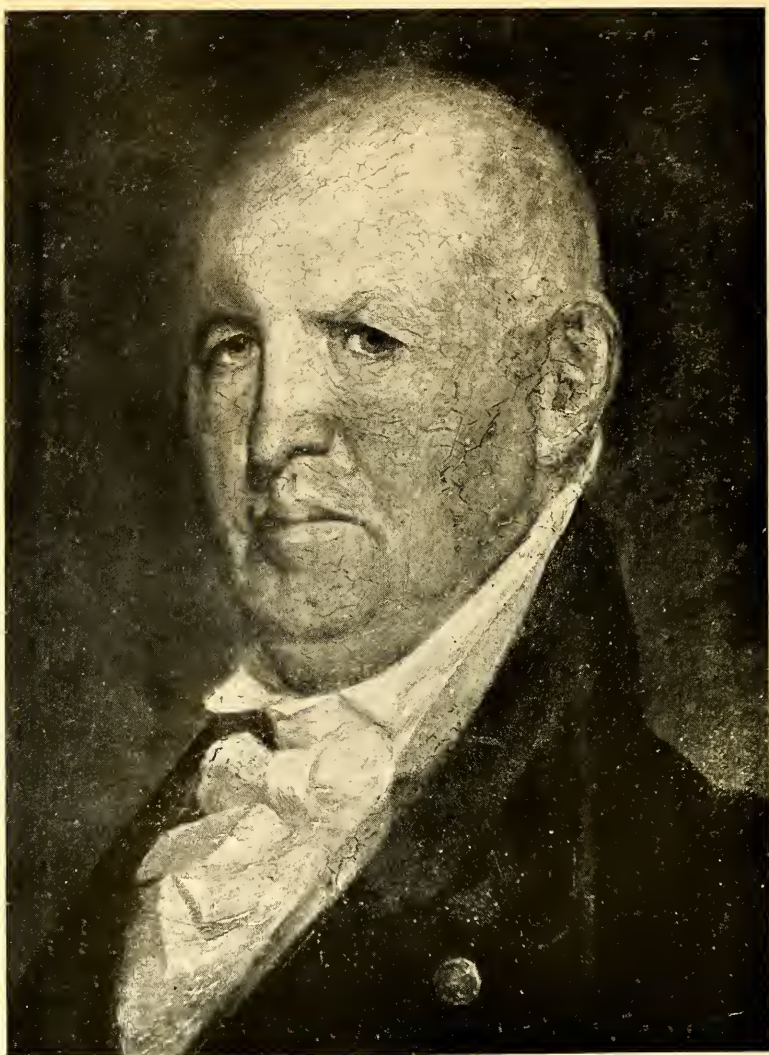
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ISAAC SHELBY

MATTHEW HARRIS JOUETT

From his most famous portrait, never before reproduced, owned by  
William R. Shelby, Esq., of Grand Rapids, Michigan

# The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVI

JANUARY, 1917

No. 3

## Isaac Shelby Revolutionary Patriot and Border Hero

By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Among that group of early pioneers whose intrepid daring and superior sagacity, tested in the crucible of border warfare and frontier conflict, were potent agencies in laying the foundation stones of the republic, Isaac Shelby occupies a position of conspicuous leadership in both martial and civil life. Deficient in the vision of a Richard Henderson or the craft of a Daniel Boone, Shelby possessed much of the glorified common sense which distinguished James Robertson. Temperamentally more phlegmatic than his comrade in arms, the impetuous John Sevier, he exhibited in the crucial moments of his career a headlong bravery and an unwavering self-control which marked him as a trustworthy leader of men. In personal bravery the match for his friend, George Rogers Clark, Shelby was a born fighter; and although not endowed with the tactical brilliance of the conqueror of the Northwest, he exhibited such unerring judgment in battle and such poise in leadership as to inspire the confident faith which procures ultimate victory. His contribution to the cause of American independence is an integral part of the history of the Revolution. This chapter which to this very day, in any adequate sense, remains unwritten, the present monograph purposes to supply.

It was from a line of Welsh ancestors that Isaac Shelby derived the phlegmatic temperament and cautious balance which stood him in such good stead throughout his eventful and turbulent career. His father, Evan Shelby, was born in Wales in 1720; and with his father and mother, Evan and Catherine Shelby, he emigrated to Maryland about 1735. The

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family settled in the neighborhood of Hagerstown, near the North Mountain, then Frederick County. Strength of character and an iron constitution, reinforced by the qualities of tenacity and approved courage, express the dominant characteristics of this famous border character, Evan Shelby, Isaac's father. In the French and Indian wars which began in 1754, he served with distinction, first it is presumed, as a private soldier; but in 1756 his recognized skill as a hunter and woodsman, acquired in patrolling the border and guarding the frontier, as well as his bravery, led to his appointment as Lieutenant of Maryland troops. It is related that on Forbes' campaign, "he gave chase to an Indian spy, in view of many of the troops, overtaking and tomahawking him."<sup>1</sup> The following letter is like a ray of light flashed into the dim obscurity of the mid-period of the eighteenth century. It is a letter of Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, to General Forbes:<sup>2</sup>

1ST OF AUGUST, 1758.

*To General Forbes:*

SIR:—This serves to introduce to you Capt. Shelby, who waits on your Excellency with his company of volunteers to receive your commands. He has served as a Lieut. more than two years in the Maryland troops & has always behaved well, which encourages me to hope that he and his company will be found useful on the present occasion. The expense I have been at in furnishing his men with blankets, leggins, moccasins & camp kettles is £82-3-2 pens currency, & as Capt. Shelby & his lieut., who was likewise an officer in our Troops until the end of May last, found themselves under some Difficulties by not being paid the arrears that were due them, I have let each of them have £15 out of the £510 currency, which, with Your Excellency's approbation, Mr. Kilby is to advance towards paying the Maryland Forces. I most sincerely wish Your Excellency the perfect Recovery of Your Health & a successful Campaign, & I am &c.

Serving as Captain of Maryland troops, in the provincial army destined for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, Evan Shelby was engaged in a number of severe battles in the course of Braddock's war. In 1758, in pursuance of Governor Sharpe's orders, he reconnoitred and marked out the route

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<sup>1</sup>Draper's *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, 411.

<sup>2</sup>Maryland *Calendar State Papers*, ii, 1757-61, 237.

of a road to Fort Cumberland; and following his report to the Governor that "three hundred and fifty men might open such a road as he proposed in three weeks," as it was not more than sixty miles in length, the road was laid out by him with the assistance of the desired quota of men, by order of Governor Sharpe.<sup>3</sup> As a soldier he was conspicuous for gallantry in the battle fought at Loyal Hanning (now Bedford), Pennsylvania; and he led the advance guard of General Forbes, when he took possession of Fort DuQuesne in 1758.

Early in the 'sixties, it is reasonable to suppose, he removed with his family to Pennsylvania—perhaps as the result of uncertainty in land titles in consequence of the dispute over territory between Maryland and Pennsylvania. For some years thereafter he engaged in trade with the Indians of the Northwest. During the conferences with the Indians, held in connection with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, lasting from October 24 until November 6, 1768, an extensive grant of land was made by the Six Nations of Indians to twenty-three Indian traders, most of them from Pennsylvania, to recompense them for very large losses incurred during the war of 1763. In the list of the twenty-three names is found that of Evan Shelby, along with such other well known names as William Trent, David Franks, John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, and George Morgan. This grant included all that part of the present state of West Virginia lying between the Ohio, the Little Kanawha, and the Monongahela rivers, the Laurel Ridge, and the South line of Pennsylvania extended to the Ohio. Trent and Wharton, two of the traders, went to England, to endeavor to obtain a confirmation of the grant, which was named Indiana by those who wished to erect it into a colony; but while there they were induced to throw in their interests with Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, and others, in securing the grant of Vandalia, which included the

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<sup>3</sup>Cf. Sharpe to Capt. Evan Shelby, June 15, 1758; Maryland *Calendar State Papers*. Letter Book III, 206; Sharpe to Calvert, Letter Book I, 358-9. For Capt. Evan Shelby's report from Frederick, June 25, 1758, cf. also Maryland *Calendar State Papers*, Letter Book III, 212.

grants to the Ohio Company and to William Trent and his associates, and extended to the mouth of Scioto. Although the draft of the royal grant had actually been prepared in the spring of 1775, it ultimately failed of confirmation by the Crown.<sup>4</sup>

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, ranches, or "cow-pens" were established at many places in the Piedmont region of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The more adventurous farmers, taking advantage of the fertile pastures of the uplands, pressed far beyond the ordinary farmer's frontier, and herded in large flocks of cattle and stock. Many of these were wandering wild upon the country; as a contemporary observer says, "notwithstanding every precaution, very great numbers of black cattle, horses and hogs—run at large, entirely wild, without any other proprietors than those of the ground they happened to be found upon."<sup>5</sup> In 1771, according to the best authorities, Isaac Shelby, the son of Evan Shelby, was residing in Western Virginia, living the life of the rancher, and engaged in the business of feeding and attending to the herds of cattle over the extensive ranges of the uplands.<sup>6</sup> And in this same year, as Draper states, the Shelby connection removed to the Holston country, in that twilight zone of the debatable ground between North Carolina and Virginia.<sup>7</sup> Evan Shelby settled on the site of the present Bristol, Tennessee; and in conjunction with his friend, Isaac Baker, purchased the Sapling Grove tract, of 1946 acres, Robert Preston dividing it equally between them.

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<sup>4</sup>*Plain Facts*, Philadelphia, 1781. *New Governments West of the Alleghenies Before 1780*, by G. H. Alden, Madison, Wis., 1897. Cf. also, Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, ii, 59-60.

<sup>5</sup>J. F. D. Smyth: *A Tour in the United States of America*, ii, 143-4.

<sup>6</sup>L. C. Draper: *Kings Mountain and Its Heroes*, 411.

<sup>7</sup>Summers, in his *Southwest Virginia*, 1903, 671-2, states that "in the year 1765 or shortly thereafter, Evan Shelby and Isaac Baker left their homes in Maryland and came to the Holston country." The facts, as stated above, would indicate that the date, 1765, is incorrect, with reference to the migration to the Holston country of Evan Shelby, at least. It may be that Isaac Baker preceded Evan Shelby to the Holston country, and induced him to remove thither.

Isaac Shelby was born near the North Mountain, in the vicinity of Hagerstown, Maryland, on December 11, 1750, being the eldest son of Evan Shelby and his first wife, Letitia Scott, of Frederickstown, Maryland. The intimacy between Evan Shelby and his friend Isaac Baker is shown by the fact that Shelby named one of his sons Isaac and Baker named one of his sons Evan. Endowed, like his father, with an iron constitution, and reared in a martial atmosphere, Isaac early adapted himself to the strenuous life of the pioneer and became expert in the arts of hunting and woodcraft. Even before he reached man's estate he served as Deputy Sheriff of Frederick County, Maryland—a tribute to his self-control and personal prowess.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the fact that the country was continually harrassed with a succession of Indian wars, young Isaac nevertheless succeeded in obtaining the rudiments of a plain English education. After the removal of the Shelbys to Kings Meadows (near Bristol), Evan Shelby and his four sons, Isaac, Evan, Moses, and James, continued to herd and graze cattle on an extensive scale along the Virginia border, about forty miles north of Watauga.<sup>9</sup>

An authentic account of the career of Evan Shelby and his services to the cause of American independence would constitute an extended chapter in the history of Indian battles and border warfare. As indicative of the high estimation in which he was held in his former home, one may cite the following fragment of a letter to Captain Evan Shelby from General William Thompson, bearing the address, "Carlyle, 6th July, 1775."

"Had General Washington been sure you could have joined the army at Boston without first seeing your family (you) would have been appointed Lieut. Colo. (of the) Rifle Battalion and an express sent by you being so-----the

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<sup>8</sup>This statement is made on the authority of Cecil B. Hartley, in his sketch of Isaac Shelby, published in 1860, along with *The Life and Adventures of Louis Wetzel*.

<sup>9</sup>James R. Gilmore: *The Rear Guard of the Revolution*, 1903, 64.

general concluded it (would not be—) for you to take the field before seeing your family. I leave for Boston on Monday night.”

Upon his Sapling Grove plantation Evan Shelby built a fort named Shelby's Station, where hundreds were sometimes fortified during the Revolution. At this fort the Shelbys kept a store, which supplied the pioneers with ammunition, dress stuffs, articles of food and drink. Daniel Boone purchased supplies here in preparation for his ill-timed and ill-fated expedition in 1773. The stout old Welshman, stern though he may have been, was evidently not averse to conviviality; on an old ledger, dated Staunton, Va., Nov. 22, 1773, conspicuous in the account against Evan Shelby are such entries as: “1 Bowl tody,” “1 Mug cider,” “1 Bowl Bumbo,” “To Club in Wine.” His first wife, Letitia Cox, died in 1777, and is buried at Charlottesville, Va. Late in life he was married to Isabella Elliott; and the records show that this prudent lady required one-third of his estate to be deeded to her before marriage. In 1794 Evan Shelby died, at the age of 74, and his widow afterwards was married again to one Dromgoole. His remains now repose in Bristol, Tenn., on the lot now occupied by the Lutheran Church, on the corner of Fifth and Shelby streets.<sup>11</sup>

It was not long after the settlement of the Shelbys at Sapling Grove that they formed the acquaintance of such leading men of the border as James Robertson, John Sevier, Daniel Boone, and William Russell. A little incident indicative of the experience of even the most expert pioneers of the day at the hands of the treacherous and furtive red men is recorded in that valuable repository of historical lore, Bradford's *Notes on Kentucky*. “In 1772,” records Isaac Shelby in one of these notes, although we know from other sources that he should have said 1771, “I met Daniel Boone below the Holstein settlement, alone; he informed me that he had spent the two years preceding that time in a hunt on Louisa river

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<sup>11</sup>Cf. Oliver Taylor: *Historic Sullivan*, 1909. Also L. P. Summers: *Southwest Virginia*, 1903.



(now Kentucky), so called by all the Long Hunters; that he had been robbed the day before, by the Cherokee Indians, of all the proceeds of his hunt."

It was at the instance of the Shelbys that Sevier moved to the Holston settlements. In 1772 John Sevier attended a horse race at the Watauga Old Field, and witnessed the theft of a horse by a burly fellow named Shoate. Sevier was about to leave, disgusted by the incident—for the thief pretended that he had won the stolen horse as the result of a wager—when Evan Shelby remarked to him: "Never mind the rascals; they'll soon poplar"—by which he meant, take a canoe and get out of the country. One of the first measures taken by the Watauga settlements was the passage of laws to protect them from horse thieves. The following year the Seviers removed to Keywood, about six miles from the Shelbys, later settling in Washington County.<sup>12</sup>

It was not long before Isaac Shelby, young though he was, came to be regarded as a man of promise in the frontier settlement. In 1774 he was appointed Lieutenant in the militia by Colonel William Preston, the County Lieutenant of Fincastle County. The anecdote is related that, when Isaac thoughtlessly sat down instead of remaining at attention while his commission was being written out by Col. Preston, his father, with characteristically imperious manner, sternly admonished him:

"Get up, you young dog, and make your obeisance to the Colonel!"

Whereupon the young officer, considerably abashed, arose and made the *amende honorable* to his superior officer. In time to come the graceless "young dog" was to prove himself, as soldier and statesman, the superior of his bull-dog father, the grizzled veteran and Indian fighter.

Endowed, like his father, with an herculean frame, though built on a somewhat larger scale, he presents a formidable and impressive appearance in the portraits that have come

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<sup>12</sup>Draper Mss.; also cf. F. M. Turner: *Life of General John Sevier*, 1910.

down to us—with firm, compressed lips, heavy chin, massive features, beetling brows over fixed, deep-set eyes—a man of “uncommon intelligence and stern, unbending integrity.”

## II.

Daniel Boone's attempt, without shadow of title, to make a settlement in Kentucky, in September, 1773, had met with a bloody repulse on the part of the Indians. In a letter to Dartmouth, Dunmore said in regard to the “Americans,” the pioneer settlers: “They acquire no attachment to place: But wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature; and it is a weakness incident to it that they Should for ever Imagine the Lands further off, are Still better than those upon which they are already Settled.”<sup>13</sup> The continued encroachments of the white settlers upon the Indian hunting grounds fanned to flame the smouldering animosity of the red man. The Six Nations, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, had sold to the Crown, through Sir William Johnson, their unwarranted claim to a vast stretch of territory extending as far to the southward as the Kentucky River. The Southern Indians, the aboriginal occupants of the soil, indignantly denied the right of the Six Nations to this Territory. The Indians along the border were aroused to a pitch of excessive hostility by the continued incursions of the whites. A succession of attacks by the Indians upon outlying and scattered settlements soon led to bloody reprisals on the part of the whites. The open letter of Conolly, Governor Dunmore's agent, calling upon the backwoodsmen to prepare to defend themselves from the attacks of the Shawnees, was issued on April 21, 1774, and the barbarous murder of Logan's family at the mouth of Yellow Creek on April 30, by one Greathouse and a score of carousing white companions, rendered the conflict inevitable. Yet actual hostilities were slow to commence, and it was not until the summer of 1774 that Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner were dispatched by Dunmore to Kentucky, to conduct

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<sup>13</sup>Draper Mss., 15J4-48.



into the settlements the various parties of surveyors scattered about through the Kentucky area. The war was now begun, and Lord Dunmore, hoping to reconcile the differences between the colonists and England by a successful campaign against the Indians, proceeded vigorously to carry the war into the enemy's country.

There were two divisions in Lord Dunmore's army, one of fully twelve hundred men under the command of the earl in person, the other of about eleven hundred strong, under the command of General Andrew Lewis, a stalwart backwoods fighter. For some inexplicable motive, which has been suspected, no doubt, erroneously, as an attempt at treachery to the Americans, Dunmore decided not to unite his force with that of Lewis; and after a long march he took up his position at the mouth of the Hockhocking, erected a stockade styled Fort Gower, and awaited news of Lewis's brigade. The division of Lewis reached the mouth of the Great Kanawha River on October 6 and encamped at Point Pleasant. On the ninth the order came to Lewis from Dunmore to join him at the Indian towns near the Pickaway Plains. The sagacious Cornstalk, the Indian leader, divining the plan of the whites, resolved to hurl his entire force of one thousand warriors upon the sleeping army at Point Pleasant.

Of the several commands under Lewis one was composed of the Fincastle men, from the Holston, Clinch, Watauga, and New River settlements, under Col. William Christian. The Holston men were the advance guard of civilization at this period, the most daring settlers who had pushed farthest out into the western wilderness. In Col. Christian's command were five captains, Evan Shelby, Russell, Herbert, Draper, and Buford; and under Evan Shelby were his sons, Isaac, a lieutenant, and James; and James Robertson and Valentine Sevier, orderly sergeants.

The battle which ensued has been described in such accurate and graphic terms in a letter to John Shelby, by Isaac Shelby,

who played an important part in the fierce engagement, that his letter is given here in full:<sup>14</sup>

CAMP OPPOSITE TO THE MOUTH OF GREAT CANAWAY,  
October 16th, 1774.

DR. UNCLE:—I Gladly imbrace this opportunity to Acquaint You that we are all three<sup>15</sup> yet alive th(r)o Gods Mercies & I Sincerely wish that this may find you & your Family in the Station of Health that we left you. I never had anything Worth Notice to quaint you with since I left you till now, the Express seems to be Hurrying that I Cant write you with the same Coolness & Deliberation as I would; we arrived at the mouth (of) Canaway Thursday 6th. Octr. and incampd on a fine piece of Ground with an intent to wait for the Governor & his party but hearing that he was going another way we Contented our selves to stay there a few days to rest the troops &c, when we looked upon our selves to be in safety till Monday morning the 10th Instant when two of our Compys. went out before day to hunt. To wit Val. Sevier & Jas Robison & Discovered a party of Indians; as I expect you will hear something of our Battle before you get this I have here stated this affair nearly to you.

For the Satisfaction of the people in your parts in this they have a true state of the Memorable Battle faught at the mouth of the Great Canaway on the 10th. Instant; Monday morning about half an Hour before Sunrise two of Capt. Russells Compy. Discovered a large party of Indians about a mile from Camp one of which men was killed the Other made his Escape & brought in his intilligence;<sup>16</sup> in two or three minutes after two of Capt Shelby's Compy. Came in and Confirmed the Account. Colo. Andrew Lewis being Informed thereof Immediately ordered Colo. Charles Lewis to take the Command of 150 men from Augusta and with him went Capt. Dickison. Capt. Harrison. Capt. Willson. Capt. Jno. Lewis from Augusta and Capt. Lockridge which made the first division. Colo. Fleming was also ordered to take the Command of one hundred & fifty more Consisting of Botetourt Fincastle and Bedford Troops Viz. Capt. Buford of Bedford Capt. Love of Botetourt Capt. Shelby & Capt. Russell of Fincastle which made the second Division. Colo. Lewis marched with his Division to the

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<sup>14</sup>The copy here used is made directly from the original in the Draper Mss., 7 ZZ 2. The text used by Roosevelt (*Winning of the West*) is drawn from a manuscript copy of Shelby's letter, in the Campbell Mss.

<sup>15</sup>Captain Evan Shelby and his two sons, Isaac and James.

<sup>16</sup>These were Joseph Hughey, of Shelby's company, and James Mooney, of Russell's. The former was killed by a white renegade, Tavenor Ross, while the latter brought the news to camp. Mooney was a former neighbor of Daniel Boone, upon the Yadkin in North Carolina, and had accompanied him upon the disastrous Kentucky hunting expedition of 1769. He was killed at Point Pleasant. Cf. *Dunmore's War*, edited by Thwaites and Kellogg, 271-2.

Right some Distance up from the Ohio. Colo. Fleming with his Division up the bank of the Ohio to the left: Colo. Lewiss Division had not marchd. little more than a quarter of a mile from Camp; when about sunrise, an Attact was made on the front of his Division in a most Vigorous manner by the United tribes of Indians—Shawnees; Delewares; Mingoes; Taways,<sup>17</sup> and of several Other Nations in Number not less than Eight Hundred and by many thought to be a thousand; in this Heavy Attact Colonel Charles Lewis received a wound which soon after Caused his Death and several of his men fell in the Spott in fact the Augusta Division was forced to give way to the heavy fire of the Enemy. In about a second of a minute after the Attact on Colo. Lewiss Division the Enemy Engaged the Front of Colo. Flemings Division on the Ohio; and in a short time Colo. Fleming recd. two balls thro his left Arm and one thro his breast; and after animating the Captains and soldiers in a Calm manner to the pursuit of Victory returned to Camp, the loss of the Brave Colonels was Sensibly felt by the Officers in perticular, But the Augusta troops being shortly Reinforced from Camp by Colonel Field with his Company together with Capt. M'Dowel, Capt. Mathews & Capt. Stuart from Augusta, Capt. John Lewis, Capt. Paulin Capt. Arbuckle & Capt. M'Clanahan from Botetourt, the Enemy no longer able to Maintain their Ground was forced to give way till they were in a Line with the troops left in action on Bancks of Ohio, by Colo Fleming in this precipitate retreat Colo. Field was killed, after which Capt. Shelby was ordered to take the Commd. During this time which was till after twelve of the Clock, the Action continued Extremely Hott, the Close underwood many steep bancks & Loggs favoured their retreat, and the Bravest of their men made the use of themselves, whilst others were throwing their dead into the Ohio, and Carrying of(f) their wounded, after twelve the Action in a small degree abated but Continued sharp Enough till after one oClock Their Long retreat gave them a most advantages spot of ground; from whence it Appeared to the Officers so difficult to dislodge them; that it was thought most adviseable to stand as the line then was formed which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had till then sustained a Constant and Equal weight of fire from wing to wing, it was till half an Hour of Sun sett they Continued firing on us which we returned to their Disadvantage at length Night Coming on they found a safe retreat. They had not the satisfaction of scalping any of our men save One or two straglers whom they Killed before the ingagement many of their dead they scalped rather than we should have them but our troops scalped upwards of twenty of those who were first killed; Its Beyond a Doubt their Loss in Number farr Exceeds ours, which is Considerable.

Field Officers killed Colo. Charles Lewis, and Colo. Jno. Fields, Field Officers wounded Colo. Willm. Fleming; Cpts. killed John

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<sup>17</sup>The Ottawas, a Northwestern tribe.

Murray Capt. Saml. Willson Capt. Robt. McClanahan, Capt. Jas. Ward, Captains wounded Thos Buford John Dickison & John Scidmore, Subalterns Killed Lieutenant Hugh Allen, Ensign Mathew Brakin Ensign Cundiff, Subalterns wounded, Lieut. Lard; Lieut. Vance Lieut. Goldman Lieut. Jas. Robison about 46 killed & about 80 wounded from this Sir you may Judge that we had a Very hard day its really Impossible for me to Express or you to Concieve Acclamations that we were under, sometimes, the Hidious Cries of the Enemy and the groans of our wound(ed) men lying around was Enough to shuder the stoutest hart its the general Opinion of the Officers that we shall soon have another Ingagement as we have now got Over into the Enemys Country; we Expect to meet the Governor about forty or fifty miles from here nothing will save us from another Battle Unless they Attact the Governors Party, five men that Came in Dadys (daddy's) Company were killed, I dont know that you were Acquainted with any of them Except Marck Williams who lived with Roger Top. Acquaint Mr. Carmack that his son was slightly wounded thro the shoulder and arm & that he is in a likely way of Recovery we leave him at mouth of Canaway & one Very Carefull hand to take Care of him; there is a garrison & three Hundred men left at that place with a surgeon to Heal the wounded we Expect to Return to the Garrison in about 16 days from the Shawny Towns.

I have nothing more Perticular to Acquaint you with Concerning the Battle, as to the Country I cant now say much in praise of any that I have yet seen. Dady intended writing to you but did not know of the Express till the time was too short I have wrote to Mam(m)y tho not so fully as to you as I then expected the Express was Just going. we seem to be all in a Moving Posture Just going from this place so that I must Conclude wishing you health and prosperity till I see you and Your Family in the meantime I am yr truly Effectionate Friend & Humble Servt

ISAAC SHELBY.

To Mr. John Shelby Holstons River Fincastle County favr. by Mr. Benja. Gray.

This recital, written by the young Isaac Shelby, modestly omits any mention of the very important part which he himself played in the battle. Upon the death of Colonel John Field, Captain Evan Shelby was ordered to the command, and upon so doing he gave over the command of his own company to his son, Isaac, who, while only holding the rank of a lieutenant, acted in the capacity of a captain during about half the battle. Cornstalk, Logan, Red Eagle, and other brave chieftains, fighting fiercely, led in the attack; and above the terrible din and clangor of the battle could be heard the

deep, sonorous voice of Cornstalk encouraging his warriors with the injunction: "Be strong! Be strong!" The Indians led by Cornstalk adopted the tactics of making successive rushes upon the whites by which they expected to drive the frontiersmen into the two rivers, "like so many bullocks," as the chief later explained. So terrific were the onslaughts of the red men that the lines of the frontiersmen had frequently to fall back; but these withdrawals were only temporary, as they were skillfully reinforced each time and again moved steadily forward to the conflict. About half an hour before sunset General Lewis adopted the dangerous expedient of a flank movement. Captains Shelby, Matthews, Arbuckle, and Stuart were sent with a detachment up Crooked Creek, which runs into the Kanawha a little above Point Pleasant, with a view to securing a ridge in the rear of the enemy, from which their lines could be enfiladed. Concealed by the undergrowth along the bank they endeavored to execute this hazardous movement; and John Sawyers, an orderly sergeant, was dispatched by Isaac Shelby with a few men of the company to dislodge the Indians from their protected position. This fierce attack from an unsuspected quarter alarmed the Indians. Cornstalk leaped to the conclusion that this was the advance guard of Christian's party, and giving the alarm hurried his forces to the other side of Old Town Creek. The battle continued in a desultory way until sunset, and no decisive victory had been achieved. But Cornstalk and his warriors had had enough, and withdrew during the night.<sup>18</sup>

In this remarkable battle, the most stubborn and hotly contested fight ever made by the Indians against the English, it was the flanking movement of the detachment in which Isaac Shelby took a leading part that turned the tide and decided the victory for the whites. This battle, which brought about

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<sup>18</sup>Compare the account given by Withers in his *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, edited and annotated by R. G. Thwaites; Cincinnati, 1908. See also Stuart's *Narrative*, in *Virginia Historical Collections*, vol. I. The most exhaustive account of the entire campaign is embodied in *Dunmore's War*, edited by Thwaites and Kellogg, Madison, 1905. An excellent map is found in Avery's *History of the United States*, vol. 5, p. 183.



an early conclusion of peace, was from this standpoint completely decisive in character; and it should not be forgotten that Isaac Shelby, the twenty-four year old captain, thus played an important role in this thrilling scene of warfare preliminary to the great drama of the Revolution. "This action," comments Isaac Shelby in his *Autobiography*, "is known to be the hardest ever fought with the Indians and in its consequences was of the greatest importance as it was fought while the first Congress was sitting at Philadelphia, and so completely were the savages chastised, particularly the Shawnees and Delawares (the two most formidable tribes) that they could not be induced by British agents among them, neither to the North nor South, to commence hostilities against the United States before July, 1776, in which time the frontiers had become considerably stronger and the settlement of Kentucky had commenced."

Indeed it was this victory of the Great Kanawha, with its temporary subjugation of the savages, which made possible Colonel Richard Henderson's gallant advance into Kentucky in March-April, 1775, ultimately eventuating in the acquisition of Kentucky and the vast trans-Alleghany region to the territory of the United States. Shelby's comment is significant in its emphasis, as he was present at the "Great Treaty" at the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga in March, 1775, and a little later was serving as surveyor in the employ of the Transylvania Company. Without the impetus given to the colonization of the trans-Alleghany region by Richard Henderson and the Transylvania Company, there would have been no bulwark on the west against the incursions of savages from that quarter during the Revolution; and at the conclusion of peace in 1783, the western boundary of the Confederation of States would doubtless have been the Alleghany Mountains and not the Mississippi River. Isaac Shelby was a hero of the first battle preluding the mighty conflict which was ultimately to end victoriously at Yorktown.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Cf. Hale's *Trans-Alleghany Pioneers*, Cincinnati, 1886, ch. XXXII. Also Todd's *Life of Shelby*, in National Portrait Gallery, I, 1835.

At the close of the campaign, if not immediately following the battle, a small palisaded rectangle, about eighty yards long, with block houses at two of its corners, was erected at Point Pleasant by order of Lord Dunmore. This stockade, entitled Fort Blair, was strongly garrisoned, and the chief command was given to that splendid border fighter, Captain William Russell. The young Isaac Shelby, in recognition of his valued services in the recent bloody battle, was made second in command.<sup>20</sup> It was here, says tradition, that the Indian chief, Cornstalk, came to shake the hand of the young paleface brave, Isaac Shelby, who had led the strategic flank movement which stampeded his army.<sup>21</sup>

The following interesting letter, addressed to "Mr. Isaac Shelby, Holston," explains the state of affairs which then existed in that region, and the movements being set on foot. It is a double letter, for at the end of Col. William Christian's letter to Isaac Shelby, which Shelby had forwarded to Colo. William Russell, the latter wrote a supplementary letter, and returned the whole to Isaac Shelby.

DUNKARD BOTTOM, February 18, 1775.

DEAR SIR:—I have lately been at Williamsburg, and applied to his Excellency the Governor to know what was to be done with the garrison at point pleasant. His Lordship has been disappointed in getting the consent of the Assembly for the continuance of the Company, but he desired me to acquaint Captain Russell that he was to return to his post and remain there until the treaty with the Indians, which is to be at Fort Dunmore in may, or until further orders. I think it will be in june before that treaty is finished & also that his Lordship wishes that the garrison could be kept (?) up from a desire he has to serve the Frontiers. I have wrote to Captain Russell to come down in order to take the charge of one of the Shawnese Hostages who was sent up with me. The design of sending him is to satisfy the Indians

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<sup>20</sup>Isaac Shelby's *Autobiography*. Cf. also *Dunmore's War*, p. 310 n; Chas. S. Todd's *Life of Shelby*, National Portrait Gallery, vol. I. Thwaites says that General Lewis, who reached Point Pleasant on October 28, left there a garrison of fifty men under Captain Russell. Cf. Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 1908, p. 176n.

<sup>21</sup>*Southern Heroism in Decisive Battles for American Independence*, by Charles Henry Todd, in *Journal of American History*, vol. II, No. 2.



of our friendly intentions, in contradiction to several reports spread among them by pensilvania Traders intimating that we designed falling on them next spring. The reports it was feared might set on foot a general confederacy among the Shawnese & their neighbors.

I expect Captain Russell will contrive to be as far as McGavocks the 7th. of March on his way to the post and I now write to you thinking it may reach you much sooner than Captain Russell could send to you, thereby to give you more time to prepare for joining him.

I saw Jno. Douglass this evening & he thinks that near 50 men of those now on duty will agree to continue & perhaps that will be enough. If you get this letter quickly would it not be well for you to ride over and consult with the Captain what is to be done. It is certain that you or him must set of (off) soon with the Indian, or I think it may (mutilated) to come the time I have mentioned.

A convention of delegates is to be held at Richmond the 20 of March to consist of two members from each county & corporation, what is to be the consequence of the present disputes is yet uncertain, but nothing pacifick is expected. The lowland people are generally arming and preparing themselves.

Please to give my compliments to your Father & tell him that it is most probable that the Committee will meet the day of our Election which is to be the 7 of March & that if he can make it convenient he may as well come up.

I am Sir Your friend & servant,

WM CHRISTIAN

On the next sheet occurs the following, in the handwriting of William Russell:

MY DEAR SIR:

I just Recd. this letter of yours and one of my own. It seems Captain Morgan of the Shawanees is sent up for us, to guard out to the Shawanees Towns upon Business of Importance, therefore request your goodness to meet me on Sunday next at Mr. Souths about Night in order to go together to McGavocks against Tuesday next to a meeting of the Committee either to Proceed from there or to return by my House, if so, you can return Home (mutilated) I start, I am Dear Sir.

Your most obedt Humble

Servt

W. RUSSELL

Tuesday the 27th, 1775.

To Mr. Isaac Shelby Holston.

When Daniel Boone and his friend, Captain William Russell, the leading pioneer in the Clinch Valley, at the head of a party of emigrants, attempted their settlement of Kentucky in

1773, they were driven back by the Indians on September 25, and abandoned the enterprise. For years, in fact since 1764, Daniel Boone had been making exploring expeditions to the westward in the interest of the land company known as Richard Henderson and Company.<sup>22</sup> Another explorer for Richard Henderson, who later made hunting tours and explorations in Kentucky, was Henry Skaggs, who as early as 1765 examined the lower Cumberland region as the representative of Richard Henderson and Company and established his station near the present site of Goodlettsville, in Davidson County, Tennessee.<sup>23</sup> With the Western country thoroughly disturbed and infested with bands of hostile red men, during 1773 and 1774, Col. Henderson recognized the signal unwisdom of attempting a western settlement on an extended scale. It was Daniel Boone's impatience to reach the West and his determination to settle there, regardless of legal right and without securing the title by purchase from the Cherokees, which led to his disastrous setback at Walden's Ridge in 1773. This entire episode exposes Boone's inefficiency as an executive and his inability to carry through plans made on a large scale. It was not until the remarkable legal mind of Judge Henderson and his rare executive ability were applied to the vast and complex project of western colonization that it was carried through to a successful termination.

Two momentous circumstances now intervened to make possible the great western venture, upon which Judge Henderson, during a decade and more, had staked all his hopes. Correspondence with the highest legal authorities in England assured Judge Henderson that despite the Royal Proclamation in 1763 he would be entirely within his rights, as a British subject, to purchase the western lands from the Cherokees and secure authentic title thereto. The victory of the backwoodsmen over the red men at the Battle of the Great Kana-

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<sup>22</sup>Compare the author's *The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion: Henderson and Boone*, in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1914.

<sup>23</sup>Albright's *Early History of Middle Tennessee*, Nashville, 1909, p. 23.

wha greatly reduced the dangers incident to a visit to the Kentucky wilderness, and in 1775 warranted the bold venture which, in 1773, Boone, upon his own responsibility alone, had found so disastrous. Following the Battle of the Great Kanawha, Judge Henderson, accompanied by his friend and neighbor, Colonel Nathaniel Hart, visited the Indians at their towns and, upon inquiry, learned that the Cherokees were disposed to sell their claims to the Kentucky territory. The agreement was made to meet the entire tribe of the Cherokees in Treaty Council at the Sycamore Shoals, on Watauga River, early in the next year. On their return to the settlements Judge Henderson and Colonel Hart were accompanied by the Little Carpenter, a wise old Indian Chief, and a young buck and his squaw, as delegates to see that proper goods were purchased for the proposed barter. These goods were purchased in December, 1774, at Cross Creek, near Fayetteville, North Carolina, and forwarded by wagons to Watauga.

Since his repulse at Walden's Ridge, in September, 1773, when the sons of both Russell and himself had been slaughtered by Indians, Boone, together with his family, had been residing in a cabin upon the farm of Captain David Gass, seven or eight miles from Russell's, upon Clinch River. He was now summoned to Watauga, instructed to collect the entire tribe of Cherokee Indians and bring them in to the treaty ground. The news of the purposes of the Transylvania Company became public property when Judge Henderson and his associates, in January, 1775, issued their "Proposals for the Settlement of Western Lands," which, in the form of broadsides, were distributed widely along the fringe of settlements upon the Indian border line. News of the proposed treaty quickly reached young Isaac Shelby at Fort Blair; and his pioneering instinct unerringly drew him to the focus of interest, the treaty ground. We are fortunate in having handed down to us, from that early time, a description of the treaty on the part of the young Isaac Shelby, who was an eye-witness. Following the confiscation of the Transylvania Company's claims by the State of Virginia, a series of extended investiga-

tions in regard to the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals were made by order of the Virginia Legislature. The points that were in great need of being settled were: First, whether the deponents were financially interested in lands under the Transylvania Company; second, whether the treaty was conducted with entire fairness; and third, whether the deeds taken by the Transylvania Company were identical, in regard to the metes and bounds of the territory purchased, with the verbal statement of the negotiators of the treaty, made to the Cherokees. As it was subsequently proven, as a result of the investigations of the Virginia Commissioners, that the treaty was conducted with scrupulous fairness by Judge Henderson and his partners, it is interesting to read the following extract from the deposition sworn to on December 3, 1777, before Edmund Randolph and Jo. Prentiss, by Isaac Shelby:

“That in March, 1775, this Deponent was present at a Treaty held at Wattauga between the said Henderson and the Cherokee Indians: that the deponent then heard the said Henderson call the Indians, when the deed by which the said Henderson now claims was going to be signed, and declared that they would attend to what was going to be done: that the deponent believes the courses in the said Deed contained, to be the very courses which the said Henderson read therefrom to the Indians and were interpreted to them. That the said Henderson took the said Deed from among several others lying on a table, all of which appeared to the Deponent to be of the same tenor with that which he read—That at the time of this Treaty, one Read who was there and suspected that the said Henderson intended to purchase some lands which he himself had his Eyes on, desired the said Deed to be read before it was signed, which was accordingly done, and the said Read objected not thereto.”

It was doubtless at some time during the course of the treaty—a treaty universally conceded to have been unparalleled for honesty and fair dealing with the Indians on the part of the whites—that Judge Henderson, attracted by the sterling qualities of the young Shelby and by his manifest

eagerness to connect himself with Henderson's plans of colonization, secured the promise of his services in the future, following the expiration of his term of enlistment, as surveyor for the Transylvania Company. The garrison of Fort Blair was not disbanded until July, 1775; and immediately Shelby journeyed to Kentucky and engaged in the business of land surveyor for the proprietors of the Transylvania Company, who had established a regular land office as the result of their purchase of the Kentucky area from the Cherokees. Here he remained for nearly twelve months, surveying numerous tracts of land for the Transylvania proprietors, and likewise making a number of entries of land for himself in Judge Henderson's land office.<sup>24</sup> His health finally became impaired, owing to continued exposure to wet and cold, combined with the frequent necessity for going without either bread or salt. On this account he was compelled to return to the settlements on Holston.

In July, 1776, during his absence in Kentucky, Shelby was appointed Captain of a minute company by the Committee of Safety in Virginia. As described by Shelby this was "a species of troops organized for the first emergency of the War of the Revolution, which, however, was not called into actual service from the extreme frontier on which he (Shelby) lived." On December 6th of this year, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act dividing the county of Fincastle into three distinct counties, to-wit: Montgomery, Washington, and Kentucky. In this act the bounds of Washington County were defined as follows:

"That all that part of said county of Fincastle included in the lines beginning at the Cumberland Mountains where the line of Kentucky county intersects the North Carolina (now Tennessee) line; thence to the east along the said Carolina line to the top of Iron mountain; thence along the same east-

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<sup>24</sup>In his deposition, referred to above, Isaac Shelby stated: "This Deponent has made several Entries for lands in Mr. Henderson's Office, but does not conceive himself to be in any manner interested in the Event of the dispute, between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the said Henderson." *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I, 296-7.



erly to the source of the South Fork of the Holston river; thence northwardly along the highest part of the highlands, ridges, and mountains that divide the waters of the Tennessee from those of the Great Kanawha to the most easterly source of Clinch River; thence westwardly along the top of the mountain that divides the waters of the Clinch river from those of the Great Kanawha and Sandy Creek to the line of Kentucky county and thence along the same to the beginning, shall be one other distinct county and called and known by the name of Washington."

The eastern boundary of Washington County as thus defined was altered by Act of the General Assembly at its session in the month of May, 1777, as follows:

"Beginning at a ford on Holston river, next above Captain John Campbells, at the Royal Oak, and running from thence a due south course to the dividing line between the States of Virginia and North Carolina; and from the ford aforesaid to the westerly end of Morris's Knob, about three miles above Maiden Spring on Clinch, and from thence, by a line to be drawn due north, until it shall intersect the waters of the Great Sandy river."<sup>25</sup>

The officers of the county commissioned by Governor Patrick Henry on the 21st day of December, 1776, were as follows: James Dysart, sheriff; Arthur Campbell, county lieutenant; Evan Shelby, Colonel; William Campbell, lieutenant-colonel; and Daniel Smith, Major. Among the names of those on the same day commissioned justices of the peace was that of Evan Shelby. The first court assembled at Black's Fort (now Abingdon) on the last Tuesday in January, 1777. On the second day of the court, being the 29th of January, Isaac Shelby was recommended, with others, to be added to the Commission of Peace for the county, and was accordingly commissioned. It may be interesting to record that, when, on February 26, 1777, the court recommended to the Governor of Virginia the militia officers for Washington County, both

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<sup>25</sup>Hening's *Statutes*, 1776.

John Shelby, Sr., and James Shelby were duly commissioned with the rank of Captain. During some portion of this time Isaac Shelby was busily engaged in acting as commissary of supplies, a post to which he was appointed by Governor Henry, for a large body of militia posted at several garrisons for the purpose of guarding the back settlements. Of his activity we have evidence in the great distances which he travelled. For instance, in September of this year, we find him at Harrodsburgh, in Kentucky, swapping horses with the future brilliant and meteoric figure, the conqueror of the Northwest. In Clark's diary one finds the following terse entry:

"Harrodsburgh, September 29.—Bought a horse, price £12; swapped with I. Shelby, boot £10."

I have often wondered who got the "boot"—the phlegmatic Welshman or the mercurial Virginian!

During this same year, Isaac Shelby was likewise instructed to lay in supplies for a grand treaty, to be held at the Long Island of Holston River, in June and July, with the tribe of Cherokee Indians.

"These supplies could not possibly be obtained nearer than Staunton, a distance of near three hundred miles," says Shelby, writing in the third person, "but by the most indefatigable perseverance (one of the most prominent traits in his character) he accomplished it to the satisfaction of his country."

It is necessary for us to recall that in 1772 Colonel John Donelson, of Pittsylvania County, acting as commissioner for Virginia, had established with the Cherokees the western boundary line of that colony, viz: a course running in a direct line from a point six miles east of the Holston River toward the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, until the line struck the Kentucky River, and thence along that river to its junction with the Ohio.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>A price was agreed upon and promised, but not then paid, for the large section of Kentucky north and east of the Kentucky river thus alienated to Virginia. Considerable doubt still prevails as to whether the price promised by Donelson was ever paid over to the Cherokees.



In 1777 Governor Henry, of Virginia, notified Governor Caswell, of North Carolina, of a treaty to be had with the Cherokees. The object of Virginia was to alter the boundary line as run by Colonel Donelson, and to have the road to and through the Cumberland Gap, the gateway to Kentucky, included in the cession. The commissioners chosen to represent Virginia were Col. William Preston, Col. Evan Shelby, and Col. William Christian, or any two of them. The commissioners chosen to represent North Carolina were Col. Waightstill Avery, Col. William Sharpe, Col. Robert Lanier, and Colonel Joseph Winston. The treaty lasted from the 26th of June until the 20th of July, when it was concluded to the satisfaction of both Virginia and North Carolina. The line established by Donelson in 1772 was not materially altered; but the alteration involved the lands claimed by the Transylvania Company under their purchase from the Cherokees in March, 1775. For reasons of policy and because of lack of instructions from their respective governments the commissioners refused to take account of the memorial presented by Judge Henderson and his associates. The treacherous and wily Indian Chiefs characteristically sought to convince the commissioners that Judge Henderson had treated them hardly in maintaining the provisions of the "Great Treaty" of 1775; but the deposition of Isaac Shelby (already quoted from in part) is conclusive on the point:

"That being present at the late Treaty at Long Island, this deponent remembers to have heard Occunostoto or the Tassel (but which he does not recollect) say that ever since he had signed the paper to Mr. Henderson, he was afraid to sign one, and that Mr. Henderson ever since he had signed the Paper, deprived him of the privilege of catching even Craw fish on the land. That this deponent was present at the time of signing the said Deed at Wattaugha, when everything was conducted fairly on the part of the said Henderson, who after signing, desired the Indians to go and take the goods which he designed for them."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>*Cal. Va. State Papers*, I.

This was a memorable gathering of the leading pioneer figures of the day. Revolution was the burning topic of discussion, and the spirit of independence, so long held in leash, found universal expression. In the characteristic phraseology of the patriotic Putnam:

“Here were Robertson and Sevier, Boone and Bledsoe, Shelby, Henderson, Hart and others—all men of worth, of nerve, of enterprise—‘men who feared God, but obeyed no earthly king.’

“They talked freely of the Declaration of Independence, as it had been announced at Mecklenburg, in North Carolina, by Patrick Henry and the Virginians, and by the Continental Congress just twelve months before. They did not think of giving notoriety out there to the Fourth of July; but they all heartily concurred in the renunciation of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and in the resolution to make ‘these States free and independent.’”<sup>28</sup>

In 1778, as we learn from Shelby’s account, he was still engaged in the commissary department to provide supplies for the Continental Army, and also for a formidable expedition by the way of Pittsburg against the Northwestern Indians. This was the expedition of General McIntosh against the Ohio Indians. On Dec. 12, 1778, the Virginia Council issued instructions to John Montgomery “to put on Foot the recruiting of men to reinforce Colo. Clarke at the Illinois and to push it on with all possible expedition.”<sup>29</sup>

George Rogers Clark was in desperate straits for men and supplies in view of the fact that General McIntosh’s proposed expedition from Fort Pitt against Detroit had to be abandoned. John Montgomery was given a very free hand in recruiting for Clark; and the following entry shows to what extent Isaac Shelby was relied upon to fit out with supplies various expeditions along the frontier:

As soon as the state of Affairs in the recruiting business will permit you are to go to the Illinois Country and join Colo Clarke. I need

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<sup>28</sup>*History of Middle Tennessee*, 617.

<sup>29</sup>*Clarks Mss.*, Va. State Archives.

not tell you how necessary the greatest possible dispatch is to the good of the service in which you are engaged Our party at Illinois may be lost together with the present favorable disposition of the French & Indians there unless every moment is improved for their preservation & no future opportunity if the present is lost can ever be expected so favorable to the interest of the Commonwealth. I therefore urge it on you to exert yourself to the utmost to lose not a moment to forward the great work you have in hand & to conquer every difficulty in your way arising from inclement season, great distances, want of many necessaries, opposition from enemies & others I cant enumerate but must confide in your virtue to guard against and surmount. Capt Isaac Shelby it is desired may purchase the boats but if he cant do it you must get some other person

You receive 10000 £ Cash for Col: Clarke's corps which you are to deliver him except 200 £ for Capt Shelby to build the boats & what other incidental expences happen necessarily on your way which are to come out of that Sum.

I am &c.

A. BLAIR C C30

In the beginning of the year 1779 Isaac Shelby was appointed by Governor Henry of Virginia to furnish supplies for a strong campaign against the Chickamauga Indians. Owing to the poverty of the treasury, not one cent could be advanced by the government and the whole expense of the supplies and the transportation was sustained by his own individual credit. In the spring of that year he was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature from Washington County, for at that time it was supposed his residence was within the chartered limits of North Carolina.

Following the Treaty of Long Island in 1777, already spoken of, it was apparent to the Commissioners from North Carolina that the settlements, having projected so far westward of the point to which the dividing line had been run, it was highly desirable that the line be extended. In a letter from Waightstill Avery and William Sharpe, to Governor Caswell, August 7, 1777, they express the conviction that "the extension of the line between the two States is now become an object worthy the immediate attention of government—it would be the means of preventing many great dis-

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<sup>30</sup>*Clark Papers*, 83.

putes.”<sup>31</sup> In 1778 the Assembly of Virginia and, a little later, the Assembly of North Carolina, passed similar acts for extending and marking the boundary. The acting Commissioners for North Carolina were Col. Richard Henderson, his cousin, Col. John Williams, of Granville County, and Captain William Bailey Smith. The Commissioners representing Virginia were Dr. Thomas Walker, who had made the remarkable exploration of Kentucky in 1750, and Daniel Smith, the map maker, who was afterwards promoted for his services along the Cumberland. The task of running the boundary line was regarded as a dangerous one, on account of the hostile intentions of the Indians; and each state commissioned a detachment to guard the Commissioners while they were engaged in the arduous enterprise. The Virginia Commission was provided with a military escort of twenty-five men, under the command of Isaac Shelby, commissioned a Major for that purpose by Governor Jefferson.<sup>32</sup> As the result of the extension of the boundary line, the county of Sullivan was erected, and Isaac Shelby, who had recently served in the Virginia Legislature and received a military commission from Governor Jefferson, was appointed Colonel Commandant of this new county of Sullivan.

In 1779 a court of commissioners with plenary powers was created by the commonwealth of Virginia to adjudicate without appeal upon the incipient land titles of the country. William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour, and Stephen Trigg, citizens of Virginia but not of the county of Kentucky, were appointed as commissioners. This court had alternate sessions at St. Asaph, Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, the Falls of the Ohio, and Bryan’s Station. The court was opened at St. Asaph on October 13, 1779; and at Harrodsburg on February 26, 1780, the court announced that its

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<sup>31</sup>*State Records of North Carolina*, vol. II, pp. 567-8. Cf. also Summers *S. W. Virginia*, pp. 695-6.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. Journal of Daniel Smith, edited by St. George L. Sioussat, *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, March, 1915; *Kentucky-Tennessee Boundary Line*, by J. Stoddart Johnston, Register Ky. State Hist’l. Soc’y. Sept., 1908.

powers had elapsed and accordingly adjourned *sine die*. Thousands of claims, of various kinds, were granted by the court during its existence. It was quite fitting, and in itself an event worthy of commemoration, that the first claim presented for adjudication was that of Isaac Shelby, among the first on the ground as surveyor under Henderson and Company, and later to become the first governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. The entry was as follows:

"Captain John Logan for and in behalf of Isaac Shelby this day produced a claim, and making a Crop of Corn for the same in the year 1778 Lying on a branch that heads at the Knob Lick & about a mile and a half or two Miles from the said Lick a southeasterly course, proof being made satisfactory to the court they are of Opinion that the said Shelby has a right to a settlement & Preemption according to law and that certificates issue for the same."<sup>33</sup>

The amount of land thus granted was fourteen hundred acres; prior to this time it would seem, Isaac Shelby had perfected no claims for western lands. It is worthy of note that in his deposition before Edmund Randolph and Jo. Prentiss, on December 3, 1777, regarding the Transylvania lands, Isaac Shelby states he had "made several entries for lands in Mr. Henderson's office, but does not consider himself to be in any manner interested in the Event of the dispute, between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the said Henderson."<sup>34</sup> This place, Knob Lick, in what is now Lincoln County, Kentucky, was settled in 1776 by Isaac Shelby while a surveyor under Henderson and Company. In the early spring of 1783, it may be remarked in passing, Shelby built his house upon the very spot where he had camped in 1776, on the tract of land he had preëmpted, and upon which he planted a crop of corn, which he left to be cultivated by a tenant, when he himself went to Williamsburg, then the Capital of Virginia, for his appointment by Governor Patrick Henry as a Captain

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<sup>33</sup>For this copy I am indebted to Judge Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Ky.

<sup>34</sup>*Cal. Va. State Papers*, I, pp. 296-7.



of the Provisional Army.<sup>35</sup> Upon this preëmption in August, 1786, Governor Shelby built the first stone house ever erected in Kentucky. This was the famous residence known as "Traveler's Rest." It is recorded that the late Col. Nathaniel Hart, of Woodford County, used to say that when it was reported that Col. Shelby had found stone suitable for building purposes, he received many letters from various portions of the United States inquiring if it could possibly be there; as well as many visits to verify the fact, some from as great a distance as Mason County. The real scarcity of stone then seems almost incredible now—in view of the unlimited supply visible on all sides; but was doubtless due to the luxurious growth of cane, and to the heavy foliage which so thoroughly covered the ground when it fell.<sup>36</sup>

During the summer of 1780, while he was locating and securing his claims made under the Transylvania Company, Shelby with his company spent some time among the Northwestern Indians—Piankeshaws, Pottawattamies, and Miamis. In his *Memoir*, George Rogers Clark makes the following amusing entry:

"The ensuing summer (1780), Captain I. Shelby, with his own company only, lay for a considerable time in the heart of their (the Indians') country, and was treated in the most friendly manner by all the natives that he saw, and was frequently invited by them to join and plunder what was called 'the King's Pasture at Detroit.' What they meant was to go and steal horses from that settlement."<sup>37</sup>

What a lark that would have been for the staid and phlegmatic Shelby!

While still in Kentucky, in the summer of 1780, Shelby received intelligence (June 16) of the surrender of Charleston and the loss of the army. He made haste to return home (the first part of July), as he himself says, "determined to enter the service of his country, until her independence was

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<sup>35</sup>Draper's *Kings Mountain*, 412; Shelby's *Autobiography*.

<sup>36</sup>Collins' *History of Kentucky* (1882), i, 514.

<sup>37</sup>English's *Conquest of the Northwest*, I, 549.

secured; for he could not remain a cool spectator of a conquest in which his dearest rights and interests were at stake." The story of the events which immediately succeeded this determination is best told in his own words:

"On his arrival in Sullivan he joined a requisition from General Charles McDowell, ordering him to furnish all the aid in his power, to assist in giving a check to the enemy, who had overrun the two Southern States and were then on the border of North Carolina. Col. Shelby assembled the Militia of his County, called upon them to volunteer their services for a short period on that interesting occasion, and marched in a very few days with near two hundred mounted riflemen across the Alleghany Mountain.

"Shortly after his arrival at McDowell's camp the army moved to near the Cherokee Ford of Broad River, from whence Col. Shelby and Lieut. Col. Clark of Georgia were detached with five hundred mounted men<sup>38</sup> to attack a British Fort, about twenty miles to the South, which was garrisoned principally by Loyalists. Col. Shelby left McDowell's camp late in the evening and arrived at the enemies Post just after daylight the next morning<sup>39</sup> which he found to be enclosed by a strong Abbatus (abatis), and everything within, indicating resistance. He however made a peremptory demand of a surrender, when Capt. Patrick Moor, who commanded returned for answer that he would defend the Post to the last extremity.<sup>40</sup> Our lines were then drawn to within a distance of about two hundred yards around the Garrison, with a determination to storm it. He however sent a messenger a second time to demand a surrender before he would proceed to extremities. To this the enemy agreed to give up the Post, on their being Paroled not to serve again during the war; or until they were regularly exchanged. In it were found ninety-

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<sup>38</sup>Shelby's figures are never conspicuous for accuracy. The detachment in this instance consisted of some six hundred horsemen.

<sup>39</sup>Sunday, July 30. Cf. Allaire's Diary.

<sup>40</sup>The person sent in to demand the surrender of the post was Captain William Cocke, who made the daring ride for Col. Richard Henderson in April, 1775.

two Loyalists, with one British subbolten (subaltern) officer left there to discipline them, also two hundred and fifty stand of arms, well charged with ball and buckshot and well disposed of at the different port holes. This was a strong post built for defense in the Cherokee war of '76 and stood on a branch of a small river called Pacolet.

"Shortly after this affair and his return to McDowell's camp Shelby and Clark were again detached with six hundred mounted men to watch the movements of the Enemy, and if possible to cut up his foraging parties. Ferguson who commanded the Enemy about two thousand five hundred strong,<sup>41</sup> composed of British and Tories, with a small squadron of British Horse, was an officer of great enterprise and although only a Major in the British line, was a Brigadier General in the royal militia establishment made by the enemy after he had overrun South Carolina, and esteemed the most distinguished partisan officer belonging to the British army. He made several attempts to surprise Col. Shelby, but his designs were always baffled. On the first<sup>42</sup> of August however, his advance, about six or seven hundred strong, came up with the American Commander at a place he had chosen to fight him, called Cedar Spring; when a sharp conflict ensued which lasted about half an hour; when Ferguson came up with his whole force. The Americans then retreated, carrying off the field of battle about twenty prisoners and two British Subalterns.<sup>43</sup> Their killed was not ascertained. The Americans lost eight killed and upwards of thirty wounded, mostly with the sabre officers. The Enemy made great efforts for several miles to regain the prisoners, but by forming frequently on advantageous ground apparently to give them battle the enemy were retarded in their pursuit, so that the prisoners were pushed out of their reach. General McDowell

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<sup>41</sup>Shelby's original statement in Haywood's *Tennessee* is that the enemy numbered about two thousand; it may have been as small a number as eighteen hundred.

<sup>42</sup>The date is correctly given in Allaire's *Diary* as August eighth.

<sup>43</sup>In Todd's Memoir of Shelby the number of prisoners taken is increased from twenty to fifty.

having by some means got information that a party from four to six hundred Loyalists were encamped near Musgrove's Mill, on the South Side of the Enoree River, about forty miles distant; he again detached Col. Shelby, Williams and Clark with about seven hundred horsemen,<sup>44</sup> to surprise and disperse them. Ferguson with his whole force was encamped at that time on their most direct route. The American commanders took up their line of march from Smith's Ford on Broad river (where McDowell's army was then encamped) just at sundown on the evening of the 18th<sup>45</sup> August 1780—marched through the woods till after dark, and then took a road leaving Ferguson's camp about three miles to the left. They rode very hard all night, the greatest part of the way in a fast travelling gait, and just at the dawn of day, about half a mile from the Enemy's camp, met a strong patrol party, a short skirmish ensued, and several of them were killed. At that juncture a countryman living immediately at the spot, came up and informed, that the enemy had been reinforced the evening before, with six hundred regular troops (the Queens American regiment from New York) under Col. Ennes, destined to reinforce Ferguson's army; and the circumstances attending this information were so minute and particular, that no doubt was entertained of its truth although the man was a Tory.<sup>46</sup> To march on and attack the enemy then seemed improper. To attempt an escape from the enemy in the rear appeared improbable, broke down as were the Americans and their horses; for it was well known to them that the enemy could mount six or seven hundred infantry with horses of the Loyalists. They instantly determined to

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<sup>44</sup>It is probable that the American forces numbered only from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty. Probably the British originally numbered approximately six hundred.

<sup>45</sup>The weight of authority favors the seventeenth, the battle occurring on the eighteenth.

<sup>46</sup>It is probable that this statement with respect to the number of British was a considerable exaggeration. Gov. Abner Nash, writing Sept. 10, 1780, gives Williams' force as two hundred and the British as four hundred. The name of the commander of the British reinforcement was Innes, not Ennes.

form a breastwork of old logs and brush near the spot, and make the best defense in their power; for by this time the drums and bugle horns of the enemy were distinctly heard in their camp on the high ground across the river, and soon indicated their movements. Captain Inman was sent with twenty-five men, to meet the enemy and skirmish with them, so soon as they crossed the Enoree River. Capt. Inman was ordered to fire on them, and retreat according to his own discretion. This strategem (which was the suggestion of the Capt. himself) drew the enemy forward in disorder, believing they had driven our whole party; and when they came up within seventy yards a most destructive fire commenced from our Riflemen who lay concealed behind their breastwork of pine logs and brush, which was near half a mile long.<sup>47</sup> It was one whole hour before the enemy could force our Riflemen from their slender breastwork. Just as they began to give way in some parts, Col. Ennes was badly wounded; and all the other British officers except one being previously killed or wounded; and Capt. Hawsey a considerable leader among the Loyalists being shot down; the whole of the enemy's line began to give way, the Americans pursued them close, and beat them across the river with slaughter.<sup>48</sup> In this pursuit Capt. Inman was killed bravely fighting the enemy hand to hand. In this action Col. Shelby commanded the right wing, Clark the left and Williams the center. The Americans returned to their horses and mounted with a determination to be in Ninety-Six (at that time a weak British Post) before night; it being less than thirty miles distant according to information then received. At that moment an express from Gen'l McDowell (one Francis Jones) came up in great haste with a short letter in his hand from Governor Caswell, dated on the battle ground near Camden apprising McDowell of

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<sup>47</sup>The Americans had been cautioned to reserve their fire "till they could see the buttons on the enemies' clothes."

<sup>48</sup>William Smith of Watauga, whose bullet had struck down Innes, exultantly exclaimed: "I've killed their commander," whereupon Shelby "rallied his men who raised a regular frontier Indian yell and rushed furiously upon the enemy, who were gradually forced back before the exasperated riflemen." Cf. Draper's *Kings Mountain*, 108.



the defeat of the American grand army under Gen'l Gates, on the 16th near that place, advising him to get out of the way, for that army would no doubt endeavor to improve their victory to the greatest advantage by cutting up all the small corps of the American armies within their reach. It was fortunate that Col. Shelby had some knowledge of Governor Caswell's handwriting and knew what reliance to place upon it; but how to avoid the enemy in his rear, broke down with fatigue as his men and horses were, with upwards of two hundred prisoners (mostly British) taken in the action—was a difficult task. The loss in killed of the enemy was not ascertained owing to the sudden manner in which the Americans were obliged to leave the battle ground, but must have been very great, from the incessant fire that was poured upon them by our Riflemen for considerably more than an hour. Our loss did not exceed nine or ten, as the enemy generally overshot the breast-work.<sup>49</sup> The prisoners were distributed amongst the companies, so as to make about one to every three men, who carried them alternately on horseback directly towards the mountains. We continued our march all that day, the night following and the next day until late in the evening, without ever stopping to refresh.<sup>50</sup> This long and rapid retreat saved the Americans, for it is a fact that, De Peyster second in command of Ferguson's army, pursued them with seven hundred mounted men to the place where they had foraged and refreshed themselves in the evening of the second day after the action; and having arrived there half an hour after our departure, at dusk, so broke down by excessive fatigue in hot weather, he gave up the chase.<sup>51</sup> Having seen the party and

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<sup>49</sup>Draper says: "four killed and eight or nine wounded." The British loss, according to the same authority, was eighty-three killed, about ninety wounded, and seventy prisoners—a total of two hundred and twenty-three out of between four hundred to five hundred—an unusually high percentage of loss.

<sup>50</sup>This is an admirable illustration of the indomitable persistence and strenuous energy of Shelby.

<sup>51</sup>Note B at end of Shelby's Ms. is as follows: "This information Col. Shelby received from De Peyster himself after he was captured at Kings Mountain in October following." Draper pronounces this an error on the authority of Fanning, the Tory annalist, who asserts that on the night after the battle De Peyster accompanied him from Musgrove's Mill to Ninety Six.

the prisoners out of all danger Col. Shelby retreated over the Western waters with his followers, and left the prisoners with Clark and Williams to carry them on to some place of safety in Virginia. So great was the panic after Gen'l Gates' defeat, and Gen. Sumpter's disaster, that McDowell's whole army broke. Some retreated west of the mountains, and others went to the North. This action which lasted one hour and a half and fought so shortly after the defeat of our grand army, is scarcely known in the history of the Revolution.<sup>52</sup> Ferguson too, made a hard push with his main army to intercept and retake the prisoners before they could reach the mountains, but finding his efforts vain, he took post at a place called Gilbert Town."

News of the disastrous reverse to General Gates and the American army at Camden, on August 16, 1780, and of the defeat of General Sumter which followed shortly afterwards, produced the immediate effect of spreading universal consternation and alarm. The various bodies of Whig Militia were forced to scatter in all directions. From his post at Gilbert Town, Ferguson paroled a prisoner, one Samuel Philips, a distant relation of Isaac Shelby's, and "instructed him to inform the officers on the Western waters, that if they did not desist from their opposition to the British arms, and take protection under his standard, he would march his army over the mountains, and lay their army waste with fire and sword."<sup>53</sup> Immediately following the affair at Musgrove's Mill, Shelby, with the approbation of Major Robertson, had proposed that an army of volunteers be raised on both sides of the mountains for the purpose of resisting Ferguson's advance. At the time the concensus of opinion heartily favored Shelby's proposal. As soon as Shelby received Ferguson's threatening

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<sup>52</sup>Shelby elsewhere describes the battle as "the hardest and best fought action he ever was in"—attributing this valor and persistency to "the great number of officers who were with him as volunteers."

<sup>53</sup>General Joseph Graham's account in *General Joseph Graham and His Revolutionary Papers*, by W. A. Graham, 1904. This account originally appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, September, 1845. Compare, also, Draper's *Kings Mountain*, p. 169.

and insulting message, he set in train a course of events which were the reverse of the result aimed at by Ferguson. The letter instead of having a deterrent and intimidating effect upon Shelby, only fired to immediate execution the determination which he had already reached to arouse the fierce mountain men to action. Without delay, Shelby rode off about forty miles to see John Sevier, the efficient commander of the militia of Washington County, at his home near Jonesborough. Here, after his ride in feverish haste, he found Sevier in the midst of great festivities—a horse race was in progress, and the people in crowds were in attendance at the barbecue. Angered by the insolent taunt of Ferguson, Shelby vehemently declared that this was a time, not for a frolic, but for a fight. Sevier, the daring and adventurous, eagerly seconded Shelby's proposal to arouse the mountain men, to coöperate with other forces that might be raised, and to make an effort to attack, by surprise, and to defeat Ferguson in his camp; if this were not practicable, to unite with any corps of patriots with which they might meet and wage war against the enemies of America; and in the event of failure, with the consequent desolation of their homes, to take water, float down the Holston, Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers and find a home with the Spaniards in Louisiana.<sup>54</sup> For two days Shelby remained in consultation with Sevier; the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga was agreed upon as the rendezvous for their forces, and the time of meeting the twenty-fifth of September. A small force of one hundred and sixty men, under Colonel Charles McDowell and Colonel Andrew Hampton, driven before the enemy, had encamped at Watauga on September 18th; and their "doleful tale," as Col. Arthur Campbell expressed it, still further "tended to excite the resentment of the western militia." Sevier undertook to bring this force into the movement; and Isaac Shelby sent his brother Moses, who held the rank of Captain, with a message to Colonel William Campbell, of the neighboring county of Washington,

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<sup>54</sup>*Life of General John Sevier*, by F. M. Turner; pp. 108-9. Draper's *Kings Mountain*, p. 170.

urgently requesting his coöperation. Campbell had other plans on foot; but upon the receipt of a second and more urgent message from Shelby, he acquiesced in the latter's plan for the attack on Ferguson. Shelby likewise despatched a messenger, a Mr. Adair, to the County Lieutenant of Washington County, Colonel Arthur Campbell, the cousin and brother-in-law of William Campbell, requesting his coöperation. Arthur Campbell had just returned from a conference with Governor Jefferson, and was in a mood to act, as the Governor had pressed upon him the need for a more vigorous resistance to the enemy. Campbell sent word back that "if the western counties of North Carolina could raise a force to join Col. McDowell's men, that the officers of Washington County would coöperate."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>*Kings Mountain—A Fragment*, by Col. Arthur Campbell.

## The Old Cemetery, Charlotte, N. C.

### Some Unusual Notations Concerning this Ancient Burial Place, which Holds the Dust of Many Patriots of Fame in North Carolina

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By VIOLET G. ALEXANDER.

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A complete record of this ancient burial ground is not ex-  
istant today, but it is known to be one of the oldest graveyards  
in North Carolina, guarding in its bosom the dust of many  
patriots, men and women, with their little children, once  
prominent in the life of the county and the State.

It has been called "the graveyard of the Presbyterian  
church" (Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*,  
pages 50-59) and there is probably a reason for this title, for  
in the early days of this community, what is today the *First*  
Presbyterian Church was the only church in Charlotte, and  
was built for *all* denominations; but at that date the Presby-  
terian denomination was the only one in evidence, so after  
some years of so-called "general use" the Presbyterians paid  
a small debt of \$1,500 and took over the church and beautiful  
oak grove occupying a city square. As was the custom in those  
early days, a graveyard was laid off adjacent to the church  
and was used as a common burying ground. This one lies im-  
mediately in the rear of the Presbyterian church occupying  
almost a city square and as it was laid off in connection with  
the church has frequently been called "the graveyard of the  
Presbyterian church."

The "Old Cemetery," as it is now more generally called,  
was the first graveyard in Charlotte, the "Spratt Burying  
Ground" antedating it some years, was a private one outside  
the town limits in early days. The "Old Cemetery" was used  
as the "town" cemetery until a few years prior to the War  
Between the States, about 1854, the date of the first inter-  
ment in "Elmwood," the present large city cemetery, when,



on account of its small size and crowded condition, it was closed for burials, and "Elmwood" was opened.

Interments "by special permit" to allow members of families to be buried by those of their name, have taken place as late as during the '70s. One of the last was that of Mrs. Sophie Graham Witherspoon, widow of Dr. John Witherspoon and daughter of General Joseph Graham, a beautiful, gifted, and beloved woman, worthy of her splendid ancestry, who today has a host of relatives in Charlotte to "rise up and call her blessed."

No complete list of those who have been buried here is available, as no record was kept, and the tombs of many have disappeared from age or neglect, but a partial list has been gleaned from the tombstones still standing, which contains the names of the following well-known and honored families: Alexander, Davidson, Graham, Witherspoon, Polk, Irwin, Carson, Orr, Harty, Clayton, Houston, Berryhill, Blair, Caldwell, Dunlap, Watson, Lowrie, Wilson, Gillespie, Elms, Trotter, Ray, Woodruff, Britton, McLelland, Howell, Sloan, Morrow, Cook, Lemmuel, Badger, Sterling, Jones, Owens, Thomas, McRee, Tredinick, Kearney, Caruth, Asbury, Hoskins, Boyd, Springs, Laurey, Meacham, Dixon, McCombs, Edwards, Howie, Wheeler, and Dinkins.

This incomplete list is one of the "honor-rolls" of Mecklenburg County, recording the fair names of some of her bravest sons and loveliest daughters, who in their brief day acted well their part and laid the safe foundation of Church and State which is today the goodly heritage of Charlotte. Lack of space prevents individual mention of many whose names and lives are indelibly linked with North Carolina's history nor are we permitted to quote the quaint epitaphs and inscriptions found on many of the tombstones.

Three men of considerable fame and who stand large in North Carolina history are buried in the "Old Cemetery" and deserve a more extended notice: Governor Nathaniel Alexander, Colonel Thomas Polk, and General George Graham.

Governor Nathaniel Alexander is the only Governor Mecklenburg County has ever had and his last resting place should be guarded with affection and pride, for he was honored and beloved by his contemporaries as is attested by the many positions of trust he filled. Foote, in his *History of Western North Carolina*, page 267, has the following:

“Nathaniel Alexander, late Governor of North Carolina, was a native of Mecklenburg. He was a physician by profession and was elected a member of the House of Commons from Mecklenburg in 1797, a member of the Senate in 1801, and reëlected in 1802. In 1803-1805 he was a member of Congress, and in 1805 elected Governor of the State. He married a daughter of Colonel Thomas Polk. He left no children. He was a man of much personal worth and respectable talents. He died and lies buried in Charlotte.”

Governor Alexander was a son of Colonel Moses Alexander, a distinguished Revolutionary patriot, who also rendered large services to his country. Governor Alexander's wife (Margaret Polk), was also of patriotic blood, a woman of many fine traits and splendid characteristics, as is evidenced by the fact that she was one of that brilliant company of young ladies of Mecklenburg County who drew up and signed the famous patriotic Resolutions and sent them to Salisbury to the Committee in session there representing Rowan and Mecklenburg counties on May 8, 1776. For a full account of this patriotic deed read Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, pages 144-145. It would appear from this action of the women of Mecklenburg County in May, 1776—still some months prior to July 4, 1776—that they were fired with the same fearless patriotism which prompted the men of Mecklenburg County to draw up and sign the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence on the previous May 20, 1775!!

Governor Alexander and his wife are buried in the “Old Cemetery” and we find the following inscriptions on their tombs.

Sacred  
To the Memory of  
Doc'r Nathaniel Alexander  
Late Governor of No. Carolina  
who departed this life on the  
7th day of March 1808  
in the 52nd year of his age.

By his side lies buried his wife, with this inscription on her tomb:

Sacred  
To the Memory of  
Margaret Alexander  
Wife of  
Doctor Alexander  
and daughter of  
Thomas and Susannah Polk  
who departed this life on the  
12th day of Sept. 1806  
in the 42nd year of her age.

Turning now to Colonel Thomas Polk, we again quote from the historian, Foote, pages 5-10, who says: "Col. Thomas Polk and his wife Susanna Spratt Polk, lie buried in the graveyard of the village (Charlotte)." Colonel Polk was one of the ablest and most patriotic men Mecklenburg County—famous for her patriots—has ever borne. He was a member of the Colonial Assembly in 1771 and again in 1775. In 1775 he was Colonel of the Mecklenburg Militia and issued orders to the Captains of the several "beats," or districts, to send two (2) delegates each to the Convention held in Charlotte on its regular day of meeting, May 19, 1775. It was on this day, while the Convention was in session, that the news of the Battle of Lexington (Mass.) reached Charlotte, and the citizens, already aggrieved and incensed, became so indignant that Resolutions were drawn up and signed on May 20, 1775, declaring independence of Great Britain. Colonel Polk was a delegate to the Convention and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and had the honor by right of his official capacity as Colonel of the Militia, of reading the famous document publicly from the courthouse steps to the

assembled citizens. Colonel Polk was appointed Colonel of the Fourth Regiment, Continental Troops by the Provincial Congress at Halifax, N. C., April 4, 1776. After the death of General William Lee Davidson at Cowan's Ford, he was appointed Brigadier-General in his stead. Mrs. Polk was a daughter of Thomas Spratt, one of the earliest settlers of western North Carolina, who was the first man to "cross the Yadkin River on wheels"—vehicles in those primitive days being rare; he was one of the wealthiest and most influential citizens of Mecklenburg and it was at his home where the first court was held prior to the building of the first courthouse. Mrs. Polk's sister, Ann Spratt, was the first white child born in Western North Carolina, and her grave is in the old "Spratt burying ground." Colonel and Mrs. Polk had an interesting family, many of whose descendents are prominent in the life of the community today. Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, page 55, tells us that "he (Colonel Polk) died in 1793, full of years and full of honors, and his mortal remains repose in the graveyard of the Presbyterian Church, in Charlotte."

Their son, William Polk, also a distinguished patriot, erected a memorial marble over the last resting place of his parents as a tribute of filial love and esteem. On it we read this beautiful testimony:

Here lies inter'd  
The Earthly remains of  
General Thomas Polk  
and his wife  
Susanna Polk  
who lived many years together  
justly beloved and respected  
for their many virtues  
And universally regretted by all  
who had the pleasure of their  
acquaintance.  
Their Son  
William Polk  
As a token of his filial regard  
hath caused this stone to be  
Erected to their Memory.

Some years ago it was the custom on each 20th of May for a "Special Committee" of citizens to visit the "Old Cemetery" and decorate Colonel Polk's grave with flags and flowers in loving memory of his patriotism as Signer and Public Reader of Mecklenburg's Declaration. Today this loyal tribute has fallen into disuse, but the writer hopes to see it revived and again become an annual custom.

General George Graham is the third distinguished patriot buried in the "Old Cemetery" of whom we shall write. He was one of the most conspicuously brave and daring men North Carolina has ever produced, a man with a notable record for heroism as is strikingly recounted in the remarkable inscription on his tombstone. He was the son of Scotch-Irish parents, James and Mary Graham, and was born in Pennsylvania, December 5, 1752, moving to North Carolina with his widowed mother when about ten years of age. His mother was a woman of strong character and fine patriotism, aiding her countrymen in their struggle for freedom and giving to the cause two sons, General Joseph Graham and General George Graham. She is buried in the "Old Cemetery," near the grave of her son, George. He was one of the students of "Queen's Museum" (afterwards Liberty Hall) and was *in Charlotte* and present at the reading of the Mecklenburg Declaration, on May 20, 1775, as is attested by his affidavit given when he was 61 years of age. In May, 1775, when it was rumored that Captain James Jack, bearer of the Mecklenburg Declaration to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, was about to be detained in Salisbury by two Tory lawyers, Dunn and Bootles, young George Graham, then about 23 years of age, "was one of the brave spirits who rode all night to Salisbury," seized the offenders and brought them both to Mecklenburg for trial. George Graham took an active part in the campaign against Cornwallis in 1780, and was one of the twelve (12) brave men who dared attack a foraging party of four hundred (400) British soldiers at McIntire's Branch on the Beattie's Ford road, seven miles from Charlotte, compelling them to retreat with a considerable loss of dead and



wounded. Scarcely has a braver or more daring deed been written in the annals of American history!

After the war George Graham was elected Major-General of the North Carolina Militia; for many years he was Clerk of the Court of Mecklenburg County and he was a member of the House of Representatives during 1793-94-95, and was a member of the State Senate during 1703-04-05-06-07-08-09-10-11-12. Again we quote from Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, page 99:

"He (George Graham) lived more than half a century on his farm two miles from Charlotte. He died on the 29th of March, 1826, in the 68th year of his age, and is buried in the graveyard of the Presbyterian Church in Charlotte."

A more extended and interesting account of George Graham may be found in that valuable contribution to history, the life of his brother Joseph, entitled *General Joseph Graham and His Revolutionary Papers*, written by General Joseph Graham's distinguished grandson, Hon. Wm. A. Graham.

The inscription on George Graham's tombstone is a grateful recognition by his fellow-countrymen of his splendid bravery in times of war and of his sterling qualities in times of peace, a most unusual and striking tribute!

As we stand by his grave we read:

Sacred  
to the  
Memory of  
Major-General George Graham  
who died  
on the 29th of March, 1826  
in the 68th year of his age.

He lived more than half a century  
in the vicinity of  
This place and was a zealous and  
active defender of his  
Country's Rights  
in the  
Revolutionary War  
and one of the Gallant Twelve who

dared to attack and actually  
drove 400 British troops  
at McIntire's  
7 miles north of Charlotte  
on the 3rd of October, 1780.  
George Graham filled many high  
and responsible Public Trusts  
the duties of which he discharged  
with fidelity.  
He was the people's friend not their  
flatterer  
and uniformly engaged the  
Unlimited Confidence  
and respect of his  
Fellow Citizens.

The site of the encounter with the British at McIntire's has been marked by a boulder and inscription as a memorial to George Graham and the "Gallant Twelve."

In the north and east corner of the "Old Cemetery" a space was set apart for the burial of the slaves who died in the homes of their masters. Many faithful men and women, with their little children, found sepulture here, near the last resting place of those they had loved and faithfully served, and who in return were held in affection and esteem. No tombstones mark these graves and most of them have disappeared from sight, so today only a rolling greensward greets the eye of the casual passerby, giving no intimation that beneath its turf lie the dust of many of an alien race who had found home and friends in Charlotte.

Strangers and visitors to Charlotte often visit the "Old Cemetery" to search for graves of relatives, or to copy inscriptions, or, from a reverent love of studying at first-hand a people's history, to stroll through its shady walks under its ancient oak trees and read the quaint epitaphs. Unfortunately this historic burial place has not been put in "Perpetual Care," and the city gives only a small appropriation for its upkeep. A fine hedge has been planted around it and a splendid rock wall built on the front side. At its entrance on West Fifth Street we find a beautiful old wrought-iron

gate of historic interest. The iron was mined by John Graham, a son of General Joseph Graham, at one of the General's iron furnaces, "Rehoboth Furnace," in Lincoln County, and was made "by hand" by the slaves and is a beautiful specimen of their work. The gate was owned by various members of the family in succession and has been donated to the "Old Cemetery." This sacred "God's Acre" now lies close to the throbbing heart of the modern "Queen City," and is one of her priceless heritages from her early patriots, who bestowed on her her splendid history which is today her greatest treasure.

## The North Carolina Medical Society of 1799-1804

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By MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

Author of "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771," "Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina," "Ballads of Courageous Carolinians," etc.

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The present splendid organization, known as The Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, had its origin, as many know, in the year 1849; but the fact is known to very few that just half a century earlier a society of almost the same name—THE NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL SOCIETY—was projected in the city of Raleigh by leaders of the medical profession then residing in the Old North State.

By perusing old files of the *Raleigh Register*, now preserved in the North Carolina State Library, we are able to catch glimpses of the earlier organization and its promoters. In the issue of that paper of November 12, 1799, it is stated that "it is contemplated by several Gentlemen of the Faculty, in the State, to form themselves into a Medical Society, and that they intend to convene for that purpose in this city some time in the month of December." The editor adds: "Such an association of scientific men must be highly useful to themselves and to the community." Commenting still further it is editorially stated that such a society could be made extremely useful "by the interchange of sentiments which it would occasion; by the discussion of medical subjects, which would awaken the spirit of inquiry; by directing the pursuits of the pupil; by giving sanction to the medical skill and ability of candidates for practice; by establishing among the Faculty a friendly intercourse; by enabling the community to distinguish the true Physician from the ignorant Pretender; and by discountenancing, and possibly suppressing the fatal and criminal practices of Quacks and Empyrics."

The term "Faculty," above mentioned, we may add in passing, is not used in the same sense as we now generally understand that word, but is an obsolete term to denote a learned profession or occupation.

In the *Raleigh Register* of December 10, 1799, Dr. Calvin Jones, "Secretary of Correspondence," published notice that the Medical Society would hold its meeting in Raleigh on the 16th of the same month. It is briefly announced in the aforementioned newspaper of December 17th that the "Medical Society met this day [probably meaning the preceding day] when Dr. Hand was appointed to the chair, and the Society proceeded to business."

The State Legislature convened in Raleigh about this time, and legally incorporated The North Carolina Medical Society by Chapter 38 of the Private Laws of 1799.

The list of officers was announced as follows in the *Raleigh Register* of December 24th: Richard Fenner, President; Nat Loomis and J. Clairborne, Vice-Presidents; Sterling Wheaton, James Webb, John J. Pasteur, and Jason Hand, Censors; Calvin Jones, Corresponding Secretary; William B. Hill, Recording Secretary; and Cargill Massenburg, Treasurer. This meeting adjourned, with a resolution that the next annual convention should be held in Raleigh on December 1, 1800. It met at the appointed time, and elected as new members Drs. John C. Osborne, Thomas Mitchel, John Sibley, ———— Armistead, and ———— French. A successful examination before the Censors was passed by Charles Smith. Quite a number of essays was read, and discussions were participated in by many of those present. The State was then divided by the Society into medical districts, and the physicians residing in these districts were urged to hold periodical meetings. Dr. James Webb, of Hillsborough, read a paper on the causes and prevention of gout and rheumatism. Prizes in money were offered by the Society for certain quantities of plants and medicinal articles produced in North Carolina, as follows: fox-glove, opium, rhubarb, castor oil,



and senna. Cholera infantum was fixed upon as the special subject of study for the succeeding annual meeting, and Drs. Pasteur, Wheaton, Loomis, and Hand were appointed essayists for the said forthcoming meeting, to be held in the year following, with liberty to choose the subjects of their dissertations. Before this meeting of 1800 adjourned, officers were elected as follows: John C. Osborne, President; Thomas Mitchel and Richard Fenner, Vice-Presidents; James Webb and John Sibley, Censors; Sterling Wheaton, Recording Secretary; Calvin Jones, Corresponding Secretary; and Cargill Massenburg, Treasurer.

The next annual meeting duly convened in the city of Raleigh on Monday, December 1, 1801, and held a three-day session. The newspaper account says that "a considerable number of respectable Physicians from various parts of the State were present." The president, Dr. Osborne, delivered the opening address which was editorially described in the *Raleigh Register* as "a cursory narrative of the progress of the science of Medicine, from the earliest ages." An "ingenious practical treatise on General Dropsy" was read by Dr. Wheaton. A committee was appointed to take steps towards establishing a botanical garden, for the cultivation of medicinal plants, and it was also resolved to found a medical library. The officers of the preceding year were reëlected, with the exception of the fact that Dr. Clairborne succeeded Dr. Sibley as a Censor. The subject of infantile diseases was designated as a special study for the next annual meeting.

In the newspapers of November, 1802, a call for the Society to meet on December 1st, was issued by Dr. Calvin Jones, Corresponding Secretary; but, if the meeting took place, as it probably did, the present writer can find no record of its proceedings.

The annual meeting at Raleigh, on December 3, 1803, brought a new accession of members in the persons of Drs. Robert Williams (of Pitt), John McFarland, John McAden, Elias Hawes, Hugh McCullough, and Thomas Henderson. No change of officers was made except the election of Dr.

Williams as a Censor, *vice* Dr. Clairborne. The details of this meeting are not given in the newspaper report.

The Society met in Raleigh on December 10, 1804, re-elected all officers of the preceding year, with the exception of Treasurer—Dr. Hawes succeeding Dr. Massenburg—and resolved to hold its next meeting in the town of Chapel Hill, the seat of the University of North Carolina, on the 5th of July, 1805. Whether this meeting took place the present writer is unable to say, nor can he find any further record of proceedings of this Society in the old newspaper files or elsewhere.

To illustrate how thoroughly abreast of their time these physicians in the North Carolina Medical Society were, it may be recalled that while Dr. Jenner's experiments, in England, on the subject of vaccination against smallpox were still in progress the North Carolina practitioners were making a study of his dissertations and applying the process to their patients. Jenner's first published treatise on the subject appeared in England in 1798, and his experiments were not completed till several years later. Yet as early as 1800 Dr. Calvin Jones published in the *Raleigh Register* an announcement that soon he hoped to begin the treatment in North Carolina. A long treatise on this subject, from the pen of Dr. Jones will be found in the *Raleigh Register* of April 14, 1801, in which he made reference to an announcement on the subject, by him, in the preceding year, but stated that he had decided to postpone the treatment until further experiments had been perfected in Europe and America. He says:

"The public have been taught to expect, from my advertisements of last year, that I shall, in the ensuing month, commence inoculation for the Smallpox; but I am prevented from doing this by the consideration of what is due from me to those who would have been my patients, whose ease and safety my own inclinations and the honor of my profession bind me to consult."

Further on in this communication Dr. Jones refers to emi-

nent practitioners in England, Scotland, Austria, and France, who had successfully used the treatment, and adds:

“Dr. Mitchell, of New York, and Dr. Waterhouse, of New Hampshire, have both received the matter of the disease from England, and propose inoculating early in the present season, so that we may expect it will soon become common in the United States.”

The practice of vaccination, we may add, came into use in parts of North Carolina other than the vicinity of Raleigh about the time the above experiments were being made by Dr. Jones and his associates. The historical researches of Miss Adelaide L. Fries have recently brought to light the fact that in the old Moravian community of Salem, North Carolina, eighty persons (mostly children) were successfully treated in the Summer of 1802, by Dr. Samuel Vierling, the town physician, for whose use the parents in that place (“house-fathers” and “house-mothers”) had obtained, by a special messenger whom they had sent to “a certain doctor in Raleigh,” specimens of the cow-pox virus, with instructions for its proper use. When Dr. Vierling undertook this work at Salem he refused to say what compensation he would demand, as he did not know what trouble and expense the process would entail. He did state, however, that he would do the work as cheaply as possible; and we must credit him with keeping this promise to the letter, as the record concludes with the remark that Dr. Vierling “declined to accept any pay for his services.”

Returning to the subject of the North Carolina Medical Society, little remains to be added. As already noted, we can find no record of its meetings after 1804. We may state in conclusion, however, that as the Society had made a collection of natural history specimens, etc., and as Dr. Calvin Jones was its secretary; and furthermore, as Dr. Jones turned over a “museum of artificial and natural curiosities” to the University of North Carolina, about twenty years later, on the eve of his removal to Tennessee, this gift to the University was in all probability the last remaining possession of the defunct North Carolina Medical Society.

## Proceedings of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution

Held in Edenton, October 24-26, 1916

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At the annual meeting of the State Society D. R., held in Raleigh in 1915, on motion of the Vice-Regent, Mrs. Marshall Williams, it was voted to hold the annual meeting of 1916 in some of our historic old towns where the Society has a Chapter. So when Mrs. Patrick Matthew, Regent of the Penelope Barker Chapter, extended an invitation to the Daughters to visit Edenton, the invitation was accepted with delightful anticipation and without deliberation, for Edenton of all towns in the State is very near to the hearts of the Daughters of the Revolution. It was in studying the history of this Revolutionary hot-bed that they were inspired to commemorate the Edenton Tea Party of 1774 with a handsome bronze tablet, which was placed in the rotunda of the State Capitol at Raleigh in October, 1908. In order to raise funds for that purpose the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET was launched in May, 1901, at the suggestion of Miss Martha Helen Haywood, who, with Mrs. Hubert Haywood, was one of the first editors; and the Penelope Barker Chapter was the first Chapter organized by the North Carolina Daughters.

The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution was held in the form of a pilgrimage to the historic "Borough Towne" of Edenton, variously called "ye Towne in Queen Anne's Creek," "ye Towne in Mattermacomock Creek," and "Port of Roanoke" in the oldest records. The Penelope Barker Chapter filled the rôle of hostess most charmingly October 24, 25 and 26.

The delegates arrived at noon Tuesday, October 24, and were met at the station by members of the Chapter and Mr. Richard D. Dixon, representing his uncle, Dr. Richard Dillard (who was unavoidably absent) and driven to their destinations. That afternoon the gentlemen of the Historical Society gave a sail in honor of the visiting Daughters. The

weather was ideal and the famous Bay of Edenton, that has been so often compared to the Bay of Naples, never looked fairer than it did under the mellow rays of the radiant autumn sun, while Mattermacomock Creek was a veritable reproduction of fairyland with the rich tints of the changing forests, the waving Spanish moss and the vivid reflections borne on the smooth surface of its limpid waters. The dying of a perfect day and the brilliant afterglow amid such surroundings were watched intently by the guests, all of whom, save two, were enjoying the attractions of Edenton for the first time.

On landing, the party strolled to the home of Mr. Frank Wood, where they were entertained at tea by Miss Caroline W. Coke, Vice-Regent of the Penelope Barker Chapter. In the grounds of Mr. Wood's home, facing the court house green, stood the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, where the Edenton Tea Party was held, October 25, 1774, the site of which has been marked by Mr. Frank Wood with a pedestal mounted with a bronze tea pot. China that was owned by the distinguished President of the Tea Party, the stately Penelope Barker, was used, and delicious tea cakes, made from the recipe she had so frequently found useful, were served. On departing, each guest was presented with a typewritten recipe, rolled and tied with buff and blue ribbon, the Society's colors.

The recipe is:

PENELOPE BARKER TEA CAKES.—1 quart flour,  $\frac{3}{4}$  cup butter and lard, mixed; 2 large cups brown sugar, 3 eggs, 1 rounded teaspoonful soda. Beat eggs together well, adding sugar; next, soda, dissolved in 1 tablespoonful warm water (not hot). Flavor with vanilla. Lastly add quickly the flour, into which butter and lard have been well worked. Roll out as soft as possible and cut. Bake in a hot oven.

The parlor was tastefully decorated with trailing vines and pink roses. Miss Tillie Bond, the nearest living relative of Penelope Barker, was a guest of honor.

On Tuesday evening the Daughters met in the Colonial



court house, which had been appropriately dressed with yellow flowers and banners, carrying out the colors of the Daughters of the Revolution, Dr. Dillard presiding. The address of welcome, was delivered by the Regent of the Penelope Barker Chapter:

*Mme. Regent, Daughters of the Revolution, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The first page of American history was written when Columbus appealed to the Court of Spain for a fleet with which to set sail upon that long, perilous voyage which terminated in his planting the Cross upon the Island of San Salvador, 1492.

From that time to the establishment of the Sir Walter Raleigh Colony on Roanoke Island to the settlement of the Chowan Precinct was but a short chain of events, but perfect in continuity.

Here, where the giants of the forest stood deep-rooted on the shores of this grand body of water, which is now known as the Albemarle Sound, flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, connecting the Old World with the New, was "Ye Little Towne on Queen Anne's Creek." With but a handful of people it set up its own government with its laws, court, customs, church, and thus early laid the foundation for an important centre of trade.

Surrounded by the Red Men, who soon became friends, they reduced to cultivation fertile fields which afforded the barter for the vessels which sailed into the harbor.

Without recorded explanation the name was changed to "Port of Roanoke," and here increased high life of Church and State, industries grew, wise patriots became known abroad, the capital of the State was here located, laws made, and her fame spread like the branches of the grandeur of the forest primeval.

Her commerce increased, ships multiplied in numbers, and the Old World wondered at her great possession.

In 1722 Governor Charles Eden died, and from that date

the name of the town has been Edenton, thus convincing us that it was named in memory of that distinguished statesman.

After years of servitude and discontent, with no representation in parliament, the cries of resentment grew pitiful, but the determination of resistance came from the women of Edenton in that document, The Edenton Tea Party, which shook the foundation of British rule in America, and sounded the first alarm at the court of St. James. Women have always been powerful, but the mighty stroke of independence was wielded by the pens of the immortal fifty-one who signed their names to that document, which was the key-note of the War of the Revolution.

So, Mme. Regent and Daughters of the Revolution, we bid you welcome to the home of our ancestors, the land of King Hoyle, the last sovereign ruler of the Choanokes, a man whose lovely character made the white people live in harmony with his tribe, and who gave his two sons to be taught to receive Christianity, for in his savage breast there beat a heart which knew that a greater God than their Great Spirit was Lord over the world and he wanted his sons to take up their cross and follow Him.

With your advent in our midst you receive the freedom of Edenton, and to one and all we bid you come to our houses, partake of our bounty, welcome you to our firesides, make you our friends, for be it ever so lowly "There's no place like home."

The following response was made by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, the State Regent:

*Officers and Daughters of the Revolution:*

It is a pleasure inexpressible for the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution to assemble for the Twentieth Annual Meeting in this historic "Borough Town," variously referred to in the oldest records as the "Towne in Queen Anne's Creek," the "Towne in Mattermacomock Creek," "Port of Roanoke," and later permanently and so appropriately named Edenton, though it must be admitted

the serpent is conspicuous through absence. It is a joyous privilege indeed to acknowledge the gracious words of this very cordial welcome, and to you, Madam Regent, and the Penelope Barker Chapter, we extend our warmest expressions of appreciation and gratitude.

Particularly dear to the hearts of the Daughters of the Revolution are Edenton and the Penelope Barker Chapter, for it was the noble history of this fair town which first inspired this Society to commemorate the "Edenton Tea Party" by placing a handsome bronze tablet in the State Capitol at Raleigh, the first to adorn that stately edifice, and as a way to raise the means necessary the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET was launched, May 10, 1901. In every important event in our past since then Edenton has been prominently represented, and some of the BOOKLET's most valuable contributions have been from the pen of her versatile writers, even to the youngest generation. The Penelope Barker Chapter has been our heart's pride, because it was the first Chapter organized, and its record can only arouse interest and stimulate ambition in historic research and patriotic achievements. It is an honor to have such a band of members respond to its roll call.

As we gather here today, some visitors for the first time to this Revolutionary hot-bed and centre of culture and refinement, naturally our thoughts revert to those stirring times that shook a great kingdom and a vast continent to their very foundations. We feel the sacred presence of the famous statesmen and the brave, fascinating women who moved in that long ago, for here they lived, labored and won laurels for the Patriot Cause that can never fade. These beautiful, historic buildings of the Colonial period have been rendered more interesting from the fact that they have resounded with the echoes of their voices and the fall of their footsteps. They pass before us in mental review. Foremost in that distant throng are Judge James Iredell, who, by his letters, has bequeathed to posterity such vivid delineations of the social life, Colonial and Revolutionary, of Edenton; Governor Samuel

Johnston, the builder of "Hayes," and his sisters, Hannah and Isabella; Joseph Hewes; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; Thomas Barker, and his fair spouse, the immortal Penelope, and that beauty and belle, Betsy Barker, whose likeness present-day iconoclasts wish to confound with that of her noted step-mother, but whose separate portraits exist in middle Carolina, one of the President of the Tea Party loaned to the Hall of History at Raleigh and the other in the home of a descendant at Ridgeway, painted, it seems, by the same artist, but showing not one trace of resemblance. Each of the fifty-one signers of the Tea Party stand forth as clearly as though the mist of intervening years had vanished. Many, many, many others pass in the distinguished assemblage. We offer our homage to their hallowed memories and imbibe inspiration to aspire to higher ideals and the performance of deeds worth while.

Of all the towns of North Carolina none have preserved that ideal, restful Colonial atmosphere, all too rare in this age of perpetual unrest and dangerous commercialism, as has this sweet haven of rest, and nowhere else can be brewed as delicious a cup of tea, which proves that the fifty-one ladies that met at Mrs. King's house on the Court House Green one hundred and forty-two years ago tomorrow, understood the full meaning of self-denial! To Edenton we come to receive fresh impetus to proceed with extensive plans for a future of rose-tinted promise.

Six and a half years have passed since you entrusted to your Regent the highest office in the gift of the Society. It has been a pleasure to serve the order that is closest to her heart, even though in so doing she has been overworked with the requirements of the office, in addition to the demands of the BOOKLET, therefore she fully realizes her shortcomings and at all times, in glancing over the past, she trusts you will do so with kind indulgence.

During that space of time five Chapters, the Bloomsbury at Raleigh, the Roanoke at Windsor, the General Francis Nash at Hillsboro, the Mary Slocumb at Faison, and the

Thomas Robeson at Red Springs, have been organized, and two Junior Chapters, the Virginia Dare and Ensinnore, at Elizabeth City, have been formed. The set of one hundred and nine lantern slides, most of which are colored, and the lecture, "Stories from North Carolina History," have been made and presented in Raleigh, Elizabeth City, Washington, Edenton, Windsor, and Winston-Salem. Eight tablets have been erected by the Chapters. A room has been furnished by the Chapters in Elizabeth City, called the "Virginia Dare Room." The chart and key of St. Paul's Churchyard has been presented this historic church, the painstaking work of the Penelope Barker Chapter. Twenty gold medals have been presented in the public schools in towns in North Carolina. Miss Catherine Albertson's book, "In Ancient Albemarle," has been published by the Society. Every annual meeting of the General Society, save that at Brooklyn in 1915, has been attended by delegates from North Carolina. The BOOKLET has been published and some brilliant social functions are some of the matters that have engaged the hearts and hands of the North Carolina Daughters.

Today the North Carolina Society is as loyal to the parent Society as she was in the pioneer days—aye, more so. We stand for the things she advocates and we are happy and content in being under her fold. Loyalty is one of the noblest traits that has been implanted in the nature of man. Would we be worthy of the great heroes whose deeds we commemorate were we untrue to the cause we have espoused? Our ranks are constantly being strengthened by the best, and we rejoice that we can face the future with confidence and hope of greater achievement.

To our beloved founder, Mrs. Fannie DeBernière Hooper Whitaker, we turn in loving remembrance, and we feel North Carolina has been richer for the influence she wielded and her memory continues to exert.

To the officers and members of the North Carolina Society your Regent extends her sincerest thanks for this list of good



works and for the whole-hearted support you have bestowed in times of labor and toil, in times of clouds and sunshine. Each of you has become dearer for the associations which shall be cherished always.

An address, giving the historical facts of this building, around which has centered so much of the past of Edenton, from Dr. Dillard, was enjoyed by the audience. The interior is modeled after the ancient basilica, and here the House of Burgesses assembled and guided the affairs of the Colony of North Carolina. Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Honorary Regent of the North Carolina Society D. R., also talked on subjects of vital importance for the preservation of our State history.

October 25th—the anniversary of the Tea Party—dawned bright and clear. In celebration of that event four tablets were unveiled by the Penelope Barker Chapter. By 10 o'clock the citizens of Edenton had gathered in St. Paul's Church, the school children had marched from the Academy, bearing the banners of the Chapter, which on entering were placed at the church door, and the Daughters of the Revolution had taken the seats reserved for them along the main aisle, to take part in the impressive service that was conducted in the absence of the beloved Rector, Reverend Robert Brent Drane, D.D., by the Reverend B. F. Huske, Rector of Christ Church, New Bern, North Carolina. Here was unveiled by Richard Norfleet Hines, Jr., the marble tablet in the rear of the church to the signers of the "Test," who composed the vestry of St. Paul's at that time, renouncing allegiance to the crown. The text of the document and the names of the signers are engraved on the memorial in black letters. Mr. Huske's address was most interesting, and it is regretted by the Daughters that it was almost entirely extemporaneous.

From the church the throng repaired to the home of Judge James Iredell, where the marble tablet in the great outside brick chimney, the gift through the Daughters of the Revolution of the present owners and occupants, Mr. and Mrs. William T. Gordon, was unveiled by William Elliott and Ethel

McMullan. Colonel J. Bryan Grimes, President of the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution, made the speech of presentation. He spoke of the man, his life and splendid services to the State and the Union, of his influence on the Supreme Court of the United States and the Constitution. It was here that James Wilson, signer of the National Declaration of Independence from Pennsylvania, visited, and here he breathed his last. His remains were interred in the burying-ground at "Hayes" and later—several years ago—were removed to Philadelphia. Dr. Dillard accepted in his happiest manner for the town of Edenton:

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

Prehistoric man built cairns or heaps of stone to commemorate important events; the ancient Egyptians emblazoned in hieroglyphics the deeds of their illustrious Pharaohs upon the faces of the everlasting pyramids; the history of the ancient Aztecs is written amid the picturesque mines of Mitla and Cholula, and Joshua set up twelve stones at Jordan, so that when the children should ask their fathers in times to come, "What mean ye by these stones? ye shall answer them that the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord." And so on through all the ages, mankind has seen fit to mark in brass, or bronze, or graven stone, whatever was valuable for posterity—they are the hall-marks and symbols of immortality. We have had presented us today a tablet in honor of Edenton's most illustrious son; like Socrates he was "the perfection of earth's mental beauty, and the personification of all virtue"; the fairest star that glitters in the firmament of our history! And now, in behalf of the citizens of Edenton, and the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, this tablet is most graciously accepted. Here let it stand, a perpetual inspiration to noble deeds, and virtuous actions! To the souls of fire let it give more fire, and to those who are slothful, let it give a might more than is man's! For who shall say that fame is but an empty name!

"In thinking of the honored dead  
The youth shall rise from slothful bed  
And now, with uplifted hand and heart,  
Like *him* to act a noble part."

At the Academy a bronze tablet to the Founders of the original Academy, on the exterior, near the entrance of the stately, pillared new structure, is placed, which was unveiled by Caroline Privott, daughter of a trustee. Colonel J. Bryan Grimes presenting, and Mr. J. Norfleet Pruden accepting on behalf of the Board of Trustees. Colonel Olds also addressed the throng, speaking of the duty that rested upon the children, the future makers of Edenton and the keepers of her splendid past.

To the court house the children marched, followed by the audience, to witness the presentation by Colonel C. S. Vann, who, in speaking, paid a high tribute to womanhood, and the acceptance of Mr. F. W. Hobbs, Clerk of the Court, of the bronze tablet, unveiled by daughters of county officers, Frances Brownley Evans, Elsie Goodwin, Cornelia Harrell, and Sadie Hobbs, on the exterior of the edifice to the fifty-one signers of the Edenton Tea Party.

Mr. Hobbs said:

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

Although I am no speechmaker I wish to assure you that it affords me a peculiar pleasure to accept the tablet commemorative of one of the most important historical events recorded upon the annals, embracing the history of our grand old town, county, and commonwealth.

The Daughters of the Revolution deserve the highest commendation at our hands for the splendid work they have accomplished in placing tablets here and there in our town, which Col. R. B. Creecy said was the most historical of all the towns in the State. These matters of history will always be recognized as most important, for frequently they are the source of inspiration to succeeding generations, and I believe to have them carved upon enduring metal, or other lasting

material, and placed where they can, on all public occasions, be seen, will have a tendency to elevate the ideals of our citizenship, make them more patriotic, and lovers of our grand old State and glorious Nation.

I thank these ladies for their manifested interest in these matters, and again state with great pleasure I accept, on behalf of the Board of Commissioners and the citizenship of the County of Chowan, this splendid tablet which commemorates such glorious courage and patriotism of our women of the Revolutionary War. To read these resolutions is enough to make us proud of our women of this stirring period of our country's history, and to make us glad that we are to the manner born.

We welcome to the county the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, and have placed at their disposal this court house, within whose walls have presided and pleaded statesmen and men who were giants in their profession and times, honored and esteemed by their fellow countrymen.

The "Resolves" signed two hundred and forty-two years ago and the names of the patriotic signers are given thereon.

On the conclusion of these instructive and enjoyable exercises the Daughters of the Revolution were cordially invited by Dr. Dillard to visit "Beverly Hall." Here amid the rare plants, flowers and ornamentation of his Italian garden, and in the library, where each recorded her name in the guest book, time flew, and soon the Daughters were rushed off to charming luncheons with Mrs. William D. Pruden and Miss Sophie Martin Wood, at historic "Hayes," conceded by Virginia authorities to be the most interesting home in the South.

The afternoon was devoted to the transaction of business in the court house, Miss Hinton presiding. Reports from the State officers and Chapter Regents were read and plans discussed for entertaining the General Society in Raleigh in April, 1917. Twenty-five dollars for the publication of the minutes of this meeting in the BOOKLET were donated by the

visiting delegates, and it was voted to have a handsome silk banner made this winter, such as the other State Societies possess. This will bear the State flag and will be adorned with the hornet's nest, emblems of the Edenton Tea Party, etc. Seventeen new members have joined during the year 1916, and thirty-two more are filling out their papers. Two new Chapters, the Mary Slocumb at Faison, of which Miss Georgia Hicks is Regent, and the Colonel Thomas Robeson, at Red Springs, have been organized, while another of young girls is being formed. A motion was carried that the Society request Colonel Charles Earle Johnson to reprint the "Life and Letters of James Iredell," by McRee, now out of print. This cast such light on the grave questions of the Colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary periods and on the delightful social life of Edenton of Judge Iredell's day that it is needed in our public and private libraries.

**REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY—MRS. L. E.  
COVINGTON.**

The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution have, during the year 1915-1916, done substantial, good work. The Society has maintained its high standard of patriotic zeal and worth-while accomplishments.

Quite a number of energetic, ambitious members have been added and they are already taking up the work of the Society with vigor and zeal. It behooves those of us who have been members for some years not to lag behind these new members in zeal; and, in fact, we should endeavor to inspire and encourage them to the most energetic service. Social, domestic, and often literary duties are pressing upon us and the temptation is to leave the hardest work to the most willing ones; but, remembering that we are descended from the men who took upon themselves unselfish, faithful service to their country, we cannot be faithless to the trust of ours, to keep their memory fresh and green, to erect from time to time tablets and memorials so that heroes and heroic deeds may not be forgot-



ten; and, above all, to inspire in the present generation a love for their country and their country's heroes.

Perhaps the most important work that our North Carolina Society has done and is doing is the publication of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, begun some years ago by Miss Martha Haywood and Mrs. Hubert Haywood and now continued by Miss Mary Hinton and Mrs. E. E. Moffitt. The most valuable historical papers are, in the BOOKLET, collected in tangible, enduring form; well known authorities give accurate, carefully written articles; and, under Miss Hinton's wise editorship, the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET has become a storehouse of information, and, to the BOOKLET, scholars, teachers, and students are constantly referring for facts of historical importance. The recent series of articles on the North Carolina Secretaries of the Navy have received more attention and have been most favorably reviewed by the press in different sections of the State.

During the recent Convention of the General Society, held last May in New York, the North Carolina Society was represented by Miss Hinton, Regent; Mrs. Paul Lee, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Marshall Williams, Vice-Regent, and Mrs. C. C. Phillips of New York. The invitation was extended by the North Carolina Society through Miss Hinton to have the General Society hold its meeting in Raleigh in 1917. The invitation was accepted and Raleigh will be hostess some time next year, either in April or May, to a distinguished gathering of women. There has been appointed by Miss Hinton a Ways and Means Committee to arrange for expenses incident to this meeting, and plans are being formulated as to the program of entertainment, etc.

Mrs. Covington then quoted from *The Patriot*, a part of Miss Hinton's report, read at the New York Convention in April, 1916.

The report from Mrs. Chas. Lee Smith, Treasurer, was read, showing receipts amounting to \$164.33, and disburse-

ments amounting to \$118.59, leaving a balance on hand of \$45.74. It was moved and carried that this report be accepted.

Miss Hinton, Regent, and editor of the BOOKLET, reported for volumes XIII, XIV, XV, extending from July, 1913, to July, 1916. Moved and carried that this report be approved.

The Registrar, Miss Sarah W. Ashe, reports these new members:

Mrs. Fannie Yarborough Bickett, Louisburg, N. C. (wife of Attorney-General [now Governor] Hon. Walter Bickett).

Mrs. Mary Davis Holt, Burlington, N. C. (wife of Mr. Erwin Allen Holt).

Miss Elizabeth Ireland, Faison, N. C.

Mrs. Mary Lou Brown Hill, Warsaw, N. C. (wife of Mr. William L. Hill).

Mrs. Annie H. Witherington, Faison, N. C. (wife of Mr. B. B. Witherington).

Mrs. Nyda H. Weatherby, Faison, N. C. (wife of Mr. Carleton E. Weatherby).

Miss Winifred Faison, Faison, N. C.

Miss Georgia Hicks, Faison, N. C.

Mrs. Janie Hicks Phillips, New York City (wife of Mr. C. C. Phillips).

Miss Louise Phillips, New York City.

Mrs. Lila H. Hines, Faison, N. C. (wife of C. Shaw Hines).

Mrs. Mary Franklin Pass Fearington, Winston-Salem, N. C. (wife of Dr. J. P. Fearington).

Miss Faith Fearington, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mrs. Elizabeth R. F. Croom, Wilmington, N. C. (wife of Mr. Avery Burr Croom).

Miss Mary Perrett, Faison, N. C.

Mrs. Ruth Huntington Moore, Raleigh, N. C.

Mrs. Annie Ramsey, Raleigh, N. C. (wife of Dr. George J. Ramsey).

Report from Mrs. Matthew, Regent of the Penelope Bar-

ker Chapter, which report, she said, was written on bronze and marble, the four tablets unveiled today bespeaking the work of this chapter. A fine work in necrology has also been done. It was moved and carried that this report be accepted.

Report from Mrs. I. M. Meekins, Regent of the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter:

**REPORT OF THE SIR WALTER RALEIGH CHAPTER,  
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.**

Miss Catherine Albertson, former Regent of the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter D. R., resigned her office as Regent last October, as her duties as Principal of the High School prevent her from carrying on the work of the Chapter.

Mrs. I. M. Meekins, Vice-President, then became Regent.

The pupils of the High School manifested unusual interest in the competition for the medal offered by the State Society D. R. last spring. The subject chosen was "The Life of John Harvey," and the medal was won by Miss Ida Owens, a member of the Senior Class of '16.

Miss Albertson presented the medal to Miss Owens on Thursday night, June 1st, during the graduating exercises of the High School Senior Class, and took occasion to make a short address to the audience, commemorating the services of John Harvey to the State of North Carolina.

On June 11th, a meeting of the Sir Walter Raleigh, Ensenore, and Virginia Dare Chapters was held at the residence of Mrs. I. M. Meekins, for the purpose of arranging for a D. R. float to take part in a parade on July 4th, in which the various civic and patriotic organizations of the town were asked to join.

July Fourth a seven passenger automobile was decorated with the D. R. colors and filled with members of the Junior D. R., dressed in Colonial costumes.

The three D. R. Chapters still hope to erect the memorial fountain to Virginia Dare, and as the Juniors grow to womanhood to erect in our county the memorial tablets to preserve her history.

**REPORT FROM THE BLOOMSBURY CHAPTER.**

The Bloomsbury Chapter D. R. was formed April 9, 1910. Although young in age it has, under the leadership of Mrs. Hubert Haywood, its Regent, marked several historical places.

The first one being the site of the old town of Bloomsbury, or Wake Court House.

The memorial was a bronze tablet placed on a natural boulder of Wake County granite, and located at the corner of Boylan Avenue and Morgan Street.

The second: The Chapter presented to the City of Raleigh a beautiful bronze tablet to the memory of Col. Joel Lane. It was placed on the left hand side of the entrance to the City Municipal Building.

In the near future the Chapter expects to mark Tryon's Road (Ramsgate Road). This road was used by Tryon on his march against the Regulators at Alamance. It is situated south of Raleigh.

Nearly seventy dollars is in the treasury for this purpose. Several of the members have contributed to this cause, and forty-six dollars and thirty-five cents (\$46.35) were made from a moving picture benefit.

The Chapter decided that it would take the noted women of North Carolina during the Revolutionary period as the topic for this year.

In addition to the regular business meetings held during the year there were two especially enjoyable occasions.

On New Year's day the Chapter met with Mrs. James E. Shepherd. After the business of the Chapter was dispatched several historical places and noted women of the Colonial period were discussed. During the afternoon Mrs. Shepherd served delightful refreshments typical of the New Year.

Washington's birthday was celebrated this year at the home of Mrs. Geo. P. Pell.

The decorations of the house, the papers read and the songs sung were all suggestive of the occasion.

Then followed delightful refreshments which carried out the patriotic idea.

GRACE H. BATES,

*Sec'y Bloomsbury Chapter D. R.*

Report from the Gen. Francis Nash Chapter, Miss Rebecca Cameron, Regent, was read and approved. This Chapter has done no active work in the past year, but has maintained organized membership. With infinite sorrow they report the death of one of their beloved members, Mrs. Annie Ruffin Collins (Mrs. George P. Collins).

Miss Georgia Hicks, Regent of the Mary Slocumb Chapter, read the report from this Chapter:

**REPORT OF THE MARY SLOCUMB CHAPTER DAUGHTERS  
OF THE REVOLUTION, OCTOBER 25, 1916.**

The Mary Slocumb Chapter was organized March 20, 1916, in the home of Mrs. Marshall Williams, State Vice-Regent. Mrs. Williams presided and read the Constitution and By-laws, and object of the Society. Officers elected were: Regent, Miss Georgia Hicks; Vice-Regent, Mrs. W. L. Hill, Warsaw; Secretary, Miss Elizabeth Newton Ireland.

The name of the Chapter, "Mary Slocumb," was selected by a unanimous vote. Fifteen ladies now constitute the membership and we will probably have more before very long. Mrs. Williams and Miss Hicks entertained the Chapter at the June meeting. Mrs. Williams gave a most interesting account of her visit to New York as delegate to the National D. R. Convention. Miss Hicks read a sketch of Nathaniel Macon, and Mrs. Witherington an article on Colonial hospitality. This winter we will probably study Revolutionary history, beginning with sketches of the men and women of those times. As our Chapter is probably one of the most recently formed in the State it may not be amiss to give a little sketch of the heroine for whom it is named, "Mary Slocumb." Among the brave men who took part in the Battle of Moore's



Creek Bridge was Capt. Ezekiel Slocumb, of Wayne County, whose home was near the Neuse River. He left his home on Sunday, previous to the battle, in high spirits, with eighty men to join the forces under Col. Richard Caswell, and to do battle against the Tories. Mrs. Slocumb, the wife of the Captain, said she kept thinking about her husband all day, when he was going with his men, and the Tories they would meet, and though she worked hard all day the situation of Captain Slocumb and his men could not be banished from her mind. That night she had a "dream that was not all a dream." She saw distinctly a body wrapped in her husband's guard cloak, bloody and dead, and others dead and wounded on the ground. She felt she must go to her husband, and in a few minutes after awakening she saddled her horse and rode at full speed in the direction the men had taken. All night, with scarcely a break in the pace, she rode through Duplin and New Hanover counties, through the lone pine woods. About sunrise she passed groups of women and children on the road-side exhibiting equal anxiety to hear from the battle, but she paused not until, after riding 65 miles, she came into swampy ground and heard the thunder of the cannon. To use her words, she said, "I stopped still, the battle was fighting then. I could hear the muskets and the shouting. I spoke to my mare and dashed on in the direction of the firing." The shouts grew louder as she drew nearer, and she said, "I saw, a few yards away from the road, under a cluster of trees perhaps twenty men lying—they were wounded. I knew the spot as if I had seen it a thousand times, and the position of the men. I had seen it all night. In an instant my whole soul was centered on one spot, for there, wrapped in his bloody guard cloak, was my husband's body. How I passed the few yards from my saddle to the place I never knew. I remember uncovering his head and seeing a face clotted with blood from a dreadful wound across the temples. I put my hand on the bloody face, and an unknown voice begged for water—it was Frank Cogdell. Just then, I looked

up and my husband, bloody as a butcher, and muddy as a ditcher, stood before me." Her husband was wounded, but not seriously. She spent the day in tenderly nursing the wounded and dying, then returned home.

Captain Slocumb survived the varying fortunes of the Revolution, and he and his courageous and devoted wife lie buried beneath modest slabs on their old plantation home. Some of us have heard the story of this brave woman from our earliest years, and to this day, though we frequently pass the old burying ground, we always look for the white tombstones, and think of the heroism of Mary Slocumb.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA HICKS.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Paul H. Lee, of Raleigh, gave an interesting report of the annual meeting of the General Society, held in New York last April:

According to a pleasant custom the New York State Society was hostess to the National Society Daughters of the Revolution for the Convention of 1916, at the Waldorf-Astoria, the Convention of this year commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society. The Silver Jubilee being an occasion of great significance brought together representatives from all parts of the country.

The formal opening of the Convention was on Tuesday morning, May 2d, at 11:30. A procession, led by juniors, with past and present officers and especially invited speakers, marched to the rostrum and took their places. Rev. Dr. Robert Clark, Chaplain of the New York Society, offered an invocation, then the salute and pledge to the flag was given by the gathering. The regular program was an address of welcome by Miss Carville, Regent of the New York State Society, and was brim-full of hearty expressions of welcome, and was received with much applause. Mayor Mitchell was to have spoken the words of greeting from the city, but was unable to attend at the last moment, and was represented by Hon. Cabot Ward, Park Commissioner. Mr. Ward bade the dele-

gates a hearty welcome in the name of the Mayor and the City of New York. The President-General's address spoke for itself, ringing clear the keynote of patriotism. This was followed by the annual reports of the different officers.

The afternoon session was given over to the report of the standing committees and reports of the State Regents. Breaking the regular routine of the program for the afternoon the Convention was entertained by Madam Archtowska, an American, whose husband, a native of Poland, made an address in behalf of the sufferers of Poland, and spoke of the appropriateness of an organization like the Daughters of the Revolution, whose forefathers had fought beside Kosciuszko and Pulaski, repaying the debt of gratitude by material help to the country from which these two men came to aid the Colonies in their time of need. "The Star Spangled Banner" was then sung with enthusiasm.

The morning session of the second day of the Convention opened with the recital of the Lord's Prayer in unison. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. The Nominating Committee having been chosen on the previous day the election of officers for the next two years was in order. There were two candidates for President-General: Mrs. Keay, from Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Raynor, of New York. A number of speeches were made setting forth the qualifications of each candidate. When the ballots were counted the Nominating Committee reported that Mrs. Raynor had received the majority vote and was therefore declared the President-General for the next two years. While the ballots were being counted reports were still being read from the State Chapters. Miss Hinton, Regent of the North Carolina Society, gave a very complete and gratifying report of the work done by the State Society. It was very pleasing that there was a good representation from the "Old North State."

The opening feature of the afternoon session of May 3d was a telegram from West Virginia announcing a gift of \$25

as a silver jubilee present. Two vocal solos were rendered; then several announcements were made, the most important being an invitation extended to the General Society by Miss Hinton, reading: "The North Carolina Society cordially invites the General Society Daughters of the Revolution to hold the annual meeting of 1917 in Raleigh, North Carolina." On motion of Miss Carville, of New York, seconded by Mrs. Berry, of Long Island, the invitation was accepted. The yearly volume of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET was presented most graciously by the Vice-Regent, Mrs. Marshall Williams. The gift was acknowledged by the President-General.

A very pleasant departure from business was a visit from Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., a member of the Woman's Section Committee of the Preparedness Parade, who came to extend an invitation to the Daughters to take part in the Preparedness Divisions of the patriotic Societies.

Now we will turn to the numerous entertainments planned for the pleasure of the delegates. There was a reminder of New Amsterdam in the selection of the Holland House for the reception of welcome given by the New York State Society to officers, delegates, and visitors, from four to six o'clock on Monday afternoon, May 1st. A continuous procession passed down the line, headed by Miss Carville, Regent of New York, and the general officers. The Hospitality Committee looked after the serving of refreshments and making every one feel welcome. When the last strains of the orchestra died away one could feel "The End of a Perfect Day."

On the following afternoon the Board of Managers of the General Society gave a tea in the East Room of the Waldorf in honor of those on roll of the first two hundred and fifty members of the Society. An invitation was extended to all delegates and visitors to pay their respects to these pioneer members. Conspicuous among the pioneer members present was Mrs. Joseph J. Casey, one of the incorporators and for nineteen years Registrar-General.

The principal social function this year was a luncheon, which was a reversion from the regular custom of a banquet. The business being over, every one was ready for the function, which meant a good time. The luncheon was served in the Astor gallery, the hall being resplendent with decorations of flags and flowers, amid its gorgeous hangings of gold. The menu, lists of guests of honor, and program of toasts were enclosed in a cover of buff, adorned with a water-color reproduction of an old print of the inauguration of George Washington, at Federal Hall, Wall Street, April 30, 1789. The guests were entertained by an address on Preparedness, from Major-General Leonard Wood, of U. S. A. Mrs. Chas. S. Whitman, the wife of the Governor of New York, was also a guest of honor.

After a group of German songs, Mrs. Kent, the toastmistress, introduced the speakers, who were seated on a dias banked with flowers. Each toast given was a retrospect of the twenty-five full years of the Society. When Mrs. Bleakley, the retiring President-General, rose to give her parting word she was visibly affected. She spoke briefly of the activities of the past four years, and urged all to work for the Society under the new leadership.

The three toasts that followed the President-General's were given by ex-Presidents-General, the toasts being as follows: "The Woman of the Past," by Mrs. D. Phoenix Ingraham; "The Woman of the Present," by Mrs. Adeline F. Fitz, and "The Woman of the Future," by Miss Adaline W. Sterling. The final toast was given by Mrs. Nathaniel S. Keay, Vice-President-General.

At the close of the feast gifts were bestowed on each past and present President-General, in the order of her service, a beautiful pin of platinum and gold in the form of a friendship wreath, to which was attached the Society Ribbon, bearing in silver letters, "1891-1916," as an expression of love from the State Societies. This testimonial came as a complete surprise, all recipients were present and much appre-



ciation was shown by the past officers as evidence of the strong tie that binds the Daughters together.

At the coffee stage of the luncheon two ushers passed from table to table, placing beside each guest a box tied with buff and blue ribbon, containing a souvenir in the form of a dainty silver teaspoon of Revolutionary pattern, inscribed "D. R., 1891-1916."

Friday, May 5th, was set to show the visitors New York's wonderful park-way system. The weather did not smile upon us; instead showers and clouds fell, but a few glimpses of sunshine insured the excursion. Automobiles were found at the 34th street entrance of the Waldorf, and when the tourists had been placed the start began. The route led through Fifth Avenue, thence by Pelham to Travers Island, where the party was scheduled to lunch at the New York Athletic Club. The luncheon was served on the enclosed balcony of the Club, and was quite refreshing. After luncheon the Daughters returned to their respective vehicles and started for Yonkers, through parks along historic roads. Automobiles sped until we reached the doorway of the hospitable home of Mrs. Bleakley, who gave the delegates a cordial welcome; the refreshments were as bountiful as the greeting was hearty. Reluctantly the visitors turned toward New York, carrying with them the memory of a charming day.

On Saturday morning, May 6th, a pilgrimage was made around historic lower New York, winding up at Frances Tavern for refreshments and rest.

A glorious May afternoon formed the beautiful setting for the last event of the Convention, when a large company assembled to attend the opening of Fort Independence Park, and to witness the unveiling of two bronze memorial tablets, the gift of the General Society Daughters of the Revolution. These tablets adorn the gate-posts that stand at the entrance of Fort Independence Park, which includes the exterior defences of the Revolutionary Fort. The erection of this splendid memorial is due to the untiring efforts of Mrs. Raynor, the

newly-elected President-General. The retiring President-General made a stirring address, taking as her theme the dedication of the Park as an inspiration to the youth of our nation. When the last strains of "The Star Spangled Banner" had died away, the last chapter of the Convention of 1916 had passed into history.

Miss Georgia Hicks, of Faison, was elected Historian. There will be no change in the officers until the next annual meeting, which will be held in Raleigh, after the meeting of the General Society, the invitation extended by the Bloomsbury Chapter being accepted. In the absence of Mrs. L. E. Covington, Mrs. Charles P. Wales (Duncan Cameron Winston), formerly a Vice-Regent of the Society, acted as Recording Secretary.

The evening of the 25th a tea party was given by the Regent of the Penelope Barker Chapter at her lovely Colonial home that dates back to 1722, which was the scene of beauty, wit, and chivalry. Flowers—golden blossoms predominating—were banked here and there. The hostess, assisted by the Vice-Regent of the Chapter, Miss Caroline W. Coke, received the guests in the front drawing-room with charming grace. She wore a handsome creation of white chiffon, with train of black velvet, and trimmed with rare lace, an heirloom handed down in Mr. Matthew's family in Scotland for generations, that had been the bridal veil of a relative in the long-ago—the Countess of Campbelldown. A feature of the evening was the tea party tableau—a table and several chairs of the Revolutionary period were arranged in the centre of the front drawing-room, around which sat and stood the members of the Penelope Barker Chapter, each in turn signing another document expressing the friendship and good-will of this province by the descendents of the Tea Party signers of the distant past. Mrs. Selby Harney, a descendant of Winifred Hoskins, acted as Secretary of the Tea Party of 1916.

Telegrams of greeting, congratulations, and good wishes from Mrs. Cordelia Armstrong Raynor, President-General

Daughters of the Revolution; Mrs. Alfred Moore Waddell, President North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames; the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution, and Colonel and Mrs. Charles Earle Johnson, were read by Miss Hinton, as follows:

NEW YORK, October 24, 1916.

*Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton:*

The President-General sends greetings to the North Carolina Society, its Regent and members. Would like to be with the Penelope Barker Chapter. The report from North Carolina was inspiring last Monday. We are working for a great ideal: Liberty, Home, and Country.

CORDELIA A. RAYNOR.

*Miss M. H. Hinton, Regent of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution:*

WILMINGTON, N. C., October 24, 1916.

The North Carolina Society Colonial Dames of America send greeting. May continued success attend your efforts to keep in remembrance the glorious deeds of the past.

G. WADDELL,

*President N. C. S. C. D. A.*

RALEIGH, N. C., October 24, 1916.

*Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, State Regent of the Daughters of the Revolution:*

The Society of Sons of the Revolution extends congratulations to the Daughters of the Revolution on this occasion of their annual meeting in the historic borough of Edenton, and wishes your organization all the success which the patriotic labors of its members so richly deserve.

MARSHALL DELANCY HAYWOOD,

*Sec'y. of the Sons of the Revolution.*

RALEIGH, N. C., October 24, 1916.

*Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, State Regent D. R.:*

Mrs. Johnson and I wish to express to you, and through you to the Daughters of the Revolution, our appreciation of the noble work being done by your patriotic Society, and to voice our regret that we cannot be present with you today in person, as we are in spirit and in thought.

CHAS. E. JOHNSON.

The State Vice-Regent, Mrs. Marshall Williams, offered a resolution of thanks most gracefully expressed for the many courtesies extended by the local Chapter Daughters of the Revolution and citizens of Edenton:

"Scarcely had we arrived in historical Edenton before we realized that coupled with patriotism was unbounded hospitality.

To the gentlemen of the Historical Society for the interesting and delightful boat ride, the joy experienced as we glided along that 'river of dreams,' reflecting and mirroring the beauties of lavish nature, is inexpressible.

Then the cup of refreshing tea and delicious cakes served at the home of Mr. Frank Wood, Miss Carrie Coke, the Vice-Regent of the local Chapter being hostess, and allow us to repeat our thanks for the recipe of the famous Penelope Barker tea cakes, useful souvenirs indeed.

Welcome evening made us feel very much at home through the courtesy of your Regent, Mrs. Patrick Matthew, who greeted us in her own charming way and then a welcome from that prince of gentlemen, Dr. Dillard. Indeed we were entranced to feel ourselves seated in the House of Burgesses and hear the history of the famous judges who sojourned here.

The exercises in St. Paul's Church were an inspiration, and we rejoice with the Edenton people in having Mr. Huske of New Berne to present the tablet. We were glad to see so many school children present to witness this eventful ceremony.

We enjoyed the address of Colonel Grimes when the Iredell tablet was unveiled and the acceptance by the silver tongued orator, Dr. Dillard. Of especial interest was our visit to the home of Mrs. Gordon.

It was pleasant to visit the artistic and beautiful new Academy and again witness another tablet unveiled and accepted by Mr. Pruden, Chairman of Trustees.

Long to be remembered was the unveiling of the tablet at the court house to the women of the Edenton Tea Party, and Colonel Vann's tribute to womanhood and the acceptance by Mr. F. W. Hobbs, Clerk of the Court.

The Society of the visiting Daughters is greatly indebted

to Mrs. Pruden and Mrs. John Wood for a real peep into the fireside and social life of the charming and cultured homes of Edenton—rich in rare and interesting relics.

Our Society was honored by the presence of Colonel Olds, State Historian.

Last, but by no means least, were our delightful moments spent in the Italian garden of the genial host, Dr. Dillard, where we walked with Milton in a Paradise and dreamed with Dante of Beatrice.

All good things must end save one. Among the choice things of earth there is nothing so fair as memory; without it there would be no history, no friendship, no love of patriotic tradition.

So we will take with us in memory's storehouse this delightful occasion, showered with intellectual gifts and gracious hospitality, and will count it another pearl in our rosary of grateful thoughts."

Witty toasts by Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Matthew were given. Delicious refreshments in two courses with the cup of tea, brewed as nowhere else on this side of the Atlantic, were served. Miss Hinton and Mrs. Williams presided at the tea table. After reading a list of the achievements of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, the Regent expressed, on behalf of the Society, appreciation of the cordiality and delightful hospitality of the Edentonians and good-nights were said.

**WHAT THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF  
THE REVOLUTION HAS ACCOMPLISHED SINCE  
IT WAS FOUNDED, OCTOBER 19, 1896.**

Raised funds through the publication of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET to erect a bronze tablet, cast by Gorham and Company, to the memory of the fifty-one signers of the Edenton Tea Party, in the State Capitol at Raleigh, the first memorial to adorn that building, in October, 1908.

Since May, 10, 1901, has published the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, an historical magazine, devoted to North Carolina



History—"Great Events in North Carolina History." It has just entered upon the sixteenth volume. The editors and contributors have always served without remuneration. There is no capital stock, the periodical being run on faith, as it were, but more than five thousand dollars have been spent in publishing it and about a thousand dollars have been cleared, all made from the subscriptions and advertisements. More than three hundred articles have been contributed by one hundred and five writers, thirty-two of these being women. It goes to all the libraries of our greatest Universities and the great libraries of the country, and to many colleges. It has subscribers in twenty-eight States of the Union, Great Britain, and India.

The site of the meeting of the Grand Albemarle Assembly, February 6, 1665, was located and marked by a handsome tablet, June 11, 1910, by the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter of Elizabeth City.

A marble tablet has been placed in the High School of Elizabeth City, containing a record of the great events in the history of Pasquotank County, the work of the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter.

A room bearing the name "Virginia Dare Room," in the hospital at Elizabeth City, has been furnished by the two Junior Chapters of that town—the Virginia Dare and Ensinnore.

On April 26, 1911, the Bloomsbury Chapter erected a tablet and boulder to mark the location of the site of the old town of Bloomsbury, where our capital city now stands.

On April 23, 1913, the Bloomsbury Chapter placed a bronze tablet on the City Municipal Building, to the memory of Colonel Joel Lane, who was instrumental in locating the capital at Raleigh.

The set of one hundred and nine lantern slides, ninety-four of which are colored, and the lecture that accompanies them, "Stories From North Carolina History," is the work of the entire State Society.

The Penelope Barker Chapter, at Edenton, has erected the following tablets:

A tablet on the exterior of St. Paul's Church.

A tablet on the exterior of the court house.

A bronze tablet on the east side of the court house, containing the Tea Party Resolutions and the names of the fifty-one signers.

A bronze tablet on the south side of the Edenton Academy, dedicated to its founders.

A marble tablet in the interior of St. Paul's Church, dedicated to its vestrymen who signed the "Test" for American Independence.

A marble tablet in the great brick chimney of Judge James Iredell's home.

A complete map and key of St. Paul's churchyard have been made by the Penelope Barker Chapter, and presented to the said Parish.

Twenty-five gold medals have been presented in the public schools of North Carolina to pupils writing the best essays on some given historical subject, North Carolina history being selected.

The North Carolina Society assisted in collecting, installing, taking care of, packing and recording the North Carolina Historical Exhibit at Jamestown Exposition in 1907.

The Society has contributed liberally towards funds used in erecting monuments by the General Society at Valley Forge, Cambridge, Massachusetts, where General Washington took command of the American Army under the historic elm on Cambridge Common, and the bronze tablet to the seamen of the American Navy during the Revolution that was placed in Bancroft Hall, Annapolis, in May, 1910.

Marking the grave of Sergeant Koen, of the Revolution, by the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter.

Placing a tombstone over the grave of General Isaac Gregory, in the Gregory burying ground at "Fairfax."

Publishing the original historical papers of Miss Catherine Albertson, in a book entitled, "In Ancient Albemarle."

The tablet erected by the Red Men, through the Penelope Barker Chapter, on the exterior of the court house, Edenton, N. C.

Thursday morning was devoted to sight-seeing. The Cupola House, where Miss Bond requested the Daughters to register in the guest book that only contained the autographs of the Society of the Cincinnati when they visited this Colonial mansion, St. Paul's churchyard, and "Hayes" were visited. The grave of Penelope Barker, in the burying-ground at "Hayes," where she sleeps beside her husband, Thomas Barker, was strewn with golden flowers by the Daughters.

The delegates left at noon, carrying the happiest recollections of their Twentieth Annual Meeting, of the one-time capital of North Carolina and her hospitable inhabitants, worthy inheritors of her glorious past and noble men and women.

The officers of the Society are: Regent, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton; Vice-Regent, Mrs. Marshall Williams; Honorary Regents, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt and Mrs. T. K. Bruner; Recording Secretary, Mrs. L. E. Covington; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Paul H. Lee; Treasurer, Mrs. Charles Lee Smith; Registrar, Miss Sarah W. Ashe.





Elegant Mounted Sword, Presented to Isaac Shelby by the State of North Carolina



*The*  
**NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET**

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*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!  
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her!"*

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Published by  
**THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY**  
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

EDITOR.

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REGENT 1902 :

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MRS. THOMAS K. BRUNER.

REGENT 1906-1910 :

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REGENT 1910-1917 :

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

\*Died November 25, 1911.

†Died December 12, 1904.

# The North Carolina Booklet

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Vol. XVIII

JULY, 1918

No. 1

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## ISAAC SHELBY

Revolutionary Patriot and Border Hero

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PART II—1780-1783

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

### III

At the appointed time, September 25, the several forces united at the rendezvous, already rendered famous by the great treaty held by Colonel Richard Henderson with the Cherokees there in March 1775, the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga. Hither came Colonel William Campbell with two hundred men, Colonel Arthur Campbell with two hundred men, Colonel Isaac Shelby and Lieutenant-Colonel John Sevier with two hundred and forty-men each—uniting with the force of one hundred and sixty men under Colonel Charles McDowell and Major Joseph McDowell, who had been encamped there for some time. An “express” sent by Colonel William Campbell from Washington County, Virginia, had already notified Colonel Benjamin Cleveland of Wilkes County, North Carolina, of the plan; and Cleveland was also urged by an “express” from Colonel McDowell to join the “over-mountain men” on the east side of the mountains with as large a force as he could raise.

The task of raising funds to equip the forces of Shelby and Sevier, and to defray the expenses of the campaign was an extremely difficult problem. The settlers generally had expended their available money for their lands; and so the only available funds were in the hands of the Entry-taker of Sullivan County, John Adair. When Sevier applied to him for

the money needed to defray the expenses of the military expedition, Adair replied:

Colonel Sevier, I have no authority by law to make that disposition of this money. It belongs to the impoverished treasury of North Carolina, and I dare not appropriate a cent of it to any purpose. But, if the country is over-run by the British, liberty is gone. Let the money go too. Take it. If the enemy, by its use, is driven from the country, I can trust that country to justify and vindicate my conduct. Take it.

For this indispensable sum, amounting to twelve thousand seven hundred and thirty-five dollars, Shelby and Sevier pledged themselves to see it refunded or its use legalized by an act of the Legislature; and this recognizance was afterwards scrupulously fulfilled.<sup>1</sup>

It seemed to the enemy that the over-mountain men had been assembled as if by magic. "The wild and fierce inhabitants of . . . (the) settlements westward of the Alleghany mountains," said Mackenzie in his *Strictures*, "assembled suddenly and silently." In his letter of October 24, 1780, Lord Rawdon significantly observed: "A numerous army now appeared on the frontier, drawn from Nolachucky, and other settlements beyond the mountains, whose very names had been unknown to us." On September 26, this force of one thousand and forty frontiersmen set forth upon the march. Before leaving the camp at Watauga, a farewell sermon was delivered by the Reverend Samuel Doak, who (according to trustworthy tradition) urged them to do battle valiantly, closing with a stirring invocation to "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon"—a sentiment greeted with a lusty shout of acclaim from the hardy mountaineers. At Quaker Meadows in Burke County, the famous home of the McDowells, which they reached on September 30, there was encamped a force of three hundred and fifty militia—the hardy followers of that fierce and blood-thirsty fighter, Colonel Benjamin Cleveland, "Old Roundabout," who called themselves "Cleveland's Bulldogs"; the stalwart riflemen of Rutherford under Colonel

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<sup>1</sup>Ramsey: *Annals of Tennessee*, 226.

Andrew Hampton, and the flower of the militant citizenship of Surry led by a born leader of men, a cousin of Patrick Henry, Colonel Joseph Winston.<sup>2</sup>

Already on September 14 preceding, General William Lee Davidson had ordered Cleveland to unite with other forces to resist Ferguson's advance; and under the present plan the prospects seemed to favor successful resistance. The commanders of the different divisions, all of whom had acted with executive authority, controlled their troops only through voluntary agreement on the part of the privates. In view of petty disorders and insubordination, the commanding officers on the second day (October 2) after resuming the march, held a conference to devise plans for quieting the disturbances, and also for the purpose of choosing a leader. "It was resolved," says Shelby in his *Pamphlet* (1823), "to send to Head-Quarters for a general officer to command us; and that, in the mean time, we should meet in council every day to determine on the measures to be pursued, and appoint any of our own body to put them in execution. I was not satisfied with this course, as I thought it calculated to produce delay, when expedition and dispatch were all important to us. We were then in sixteen or eighteen miles of Gilbert Town, where we supposed Ferguson to be. I suggested these things to the council, and then observed to the officers, that we were all North Carolinians except Col. Campbell, who was from Virginia; that I knew him to be a man of good sense, and warmly attached to the cause of his country; that he commanded the largest regiment; and that if they concurred with me, until a general officer should arrive from Head-Quarters, appoint him to command us, and march immediately against the enemy. To this proposition some one or two said 'agreed.' No written minute or record was made of it."<sup>3</sup> Shelby acknowledges that that he did this to "silence the expectation

<sup>2</sup>A. C. Avery: "Quaker Meadows," in *North Carolina Booklet*, IV, No. 3; W. A. Graham: *General Joseph Graham*, 273-283; G. T. Winston: "The Life and Times of Major Joseph Winston," 1895; J. Crouch: "The Life and Character of Col. Benjamin Cleveland," 1908.

<sup>3</sup>Appendix to L. C. Draper's *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, 564.



of Col. McDowell" to command the expedition. This was a legitimate expectation on the part of Col. McDowell, who was the commanding officer of the district in which the force was operating, and had, as Shelby further admits, "commanded the armies of militia in that quarter all the summer before against the same enemy." The objections urged against McDowell by Shelby were that he was "too far advanced in life" and "too inactive" for the command of an expedition which required extraordinary resources in strength and endurance. The first objection, mentioned by Shelby at the advanced age of seventy-three, is not founded on fact, and was perhaps due to defective memory; for McDowell was a vigorous young man of thirty-seven in 1780. In his narrative,<sup>4</sup> Shelby states merely that McDowell "was too slow an officer" for the enterprise. There was at no time any question of the bravery or patriotism of McDowell.<sup>5</sup>

During the progress of the conference, Campbell took Shelby aside and requested that his name be withdrawn and that Shelby himself take the command. To this, Shelby very correctly replied that he was the youngest Colonel present; and that McDowell under whom he had served, would resent his elevation to the chief command. Shelby probably realized that the over-mountain men, at all times unaccustomed to strict military discipline and somewhat prone to insubordination, would not readily accept the leadership in this meteoric campaign of a militia commander conspicuous neither for rare discretion nor for exceptional efficiency. The selection of Campbell was undoubtedly a temporary expedient, a tactful mode of bridging an awkward situation; yet it is clear that these border leaders would never have agreed to Shelby's suggestion that the chief command be given, even temporarily, to Campbell, had they not recognized in him an efficient leader and known him to be a true soldier. One final conclusion is

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<sup>4</sup>*American Review*, December, 1848.

<sup>5</sup>Other graver objections to the selection of McDowell as leader of the campaign have been mentioned. In this connection see Draper's *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, 87-9, and A. C. Avery's "Burke County," 90, in *Western North Carolina* (1890).

irresistible: that Shelby himself, as originator and prime mover in the expedition, more than any other was entitled to the chief command.

Colonel McDowell, who, as Shelby frankly says, "had the good of his country more at heart than any title of command," cheerfully acquiesced in the council's decision; but observed that as he was not to have the chief command, he would volunteer to convey to headquarters at Hillsborough the request for a general officer. On October 4, McDowell started on his errand from the mouth of Cane Creek near Gilbert Town, where the American force was encamped.<sup>6</sup> He bore with him a significant letter, to which the chief historian of the battle did not have access.<sup>7</sup> He left his men under the command of his brother, Major Joseph McDowell. Colonel Campbell now assumed temporarily the chief command, but he was to be regulated and directed by the determinations of the Colonels, who were to meet in council every day. It is noticeable that the list of signatures is not headed by that of Campbell, and does not include that of Charles McDowell, the bearer.

Rutherford County, Camp near Gilberttown

Oct 4, 1780.

SIR, We have now collected at this place about 1500 good men, drawn from the Counties of Surry, Wilkes, Burke, Washington and Sullivan Counties in this State, and Washington County in Virginia, and expect to be joined in a few days by Col. Clarke of Georgia, and Col. Williams of South Carolina, with about 1000 more—As we have at this time called out our Militia without any orders from the Executive of our different States, and with the view of Expelling the Enemy out of this part of the Country, we think such a body of men worthy of your attention, and would request you to send a General Officer, immediately to take the command of such Troops as may embody in this quarter—Our Troops being all Militia, and but little

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<sup>6</sup>It is worthy of note that, on his way to Hillsborough, McDowell called at the camp of Lacy and Hill, with their South Carolinians, and at that of Williams with the Rowan Corps, at Flint Hill, a dozen miles or so to the eastward of the head of Cane Creek. These forces, being thus notified of the march against Ferguson, formed a junction with Campbell's forces on October 6.

<sup>7</sup>Draper makes no mention of this letter, the original of which is in the Gates Papers, Archives of the New York Historical Society. For a transcript of this letter I am indebted to Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the New York Public Library, and to Mr. Robert H. Kelby, Librarian of the New York Historical Society.

acquainted with discipline, we could wish him to be a Gentleman of address, and able to keep up a proper discipline, without disgusting the Soldiery—Every assistance in our power, shall be given the Officer you may think proper to take the command of us.

It is the wish of such of us as are acquainted with General Davidson and Col. Morgan (if in service) that one of them Gentlemen may be appointed to this command.

We are in great want of Ammunition, and hope you will endeavor to have us properly furnished with that Article.

Col. McDowell will wait upon you with this, who can inform you of the present situation of the Enemy, and such other particulars respecting our Troops as you may think necessary.

We are Sir, Your most obdt. and very hble. Servts.

BENJA. CLEVELAND,  
ISAAC SHELBY,  
JOHN SEVIER,  
ANDW. HAMPTON,  
WM. CAMPBELL,  
JO. WINSTON.

(Endorsed)  
(Public Service)

The Honorable Major General

Horatio Gates

Commander in Chief of

the Southern Army.

By Col. Charles McDowell Major General Smallwood

Letter from

Col. Cleveland &c<sup>s</sup>

4th October 80.

A memorable incident, indicative of the indomitable determination of the American forces, deserves record here. Before resuming the march on October 3, the Colonels notified the assembled troops of the nature and hazard of the enterprise before them; and the offer was made that any one who so desired, might withdraw then and there from the campaign. Shelby thus laconically addressed the men:

You have all been informed of the offer. You who desire to decline it, will, when the word is given, march three steps to the rear, and stand, prior to which a few more minutes will be granted you for consideration.

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<sup>s</sup>*Cf. N. C. State Records*, xiv, 663-4. A photographic facsimile of the signatures to this letter, made at my order from the original letter, shows that, contrary to the testimony of Mr. Roosevelt, who spells it "Cleavland," the correct spelling is "Cleveland."

After a pause the order was given that "those who desired *to back out* would step three paces to the rear," but not a man withdrew. Shelby then addressed the men in words which convey a vivid impression of the spirit of the movement and the character of the campaign:

I am heartily glad to see you to a man resolve to meet and fight your country's foes. When we encounter the enemy, don't wait for the word of command. Let each one of you be your own officer, and do the very best you can, taking every care you can of yourselves, and availing yourselves of every advantage that chance may throw in your way. If in the woods, shelter yourselves, and give them Indian play; advance from tree to tree, pressing the enemy and killing and disabling all you can. Your officers will shrink from no danger—they will be consistently with you, and the moment the enemy give war, be on the alert and strictly obey orders.<sup>9</sup>

The taunt of Ferguson, by which he had hoped to intimidate the men of the back-country, evoked a retort he little expected. Ferguson's principal object at this time was to strike a crushing blow at the small band of partisans under Captain Elijah Clarke, who about the middle of September was threatening Augusta, Georgia, and was still hovering dangerously near the Carolina line. Ferguson was hoping for and expecting the return of furloughed loyalists in large numbers under Gibbes, the militia under Cruger at Ninety-Six, or Tarleton's Legion ordered thither by Cornwallis. Two deserters from the camp of the Americans came in on September 30 to warn Ferguson of the approach of the frontier army. Had Ferguson struck straight for Charlotte and a junction there with Cornwallis, he might have eluded Campbell's force. But he was confronted with the danger of permitting the union of the forces of Clarke and Campbell; the necessity of recalling numerous Tories, absent on furlough belonging to his own force; and the danger of disaffection to the loyalist cause on the part of the people of that region. Perhaps Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger had a deeper insight into the nature of the situation than had Ferguson; for in his reply (October 3, 1780) to Ferguson's dispatch of September 30th, with its

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<sup>9</sup>Testimony of John Spelts, called "Continental Jack," who was present.

alarming news of "so considerable (a) force as you understand is coming from the mountains," Cruger makes these eminently sane observations: "I Don't see how you can possibly (defend) the country and its neighborhood that you (are) now in. . . . I flattered myself they (the Tory militia) would have been equal to the mountain lads, and that no further call for the *defensive* would have been (made?) on this part of the Province. I begin to think our views for the present rather large. We have been led to this, probably, in expecting too much from the militia."<sup>10</sup>

Aware of some of the dangers incident to the situation, Ferguson despatched messengers to Cornwallis, asking for assistance; but these, being pursued, were delayed by reason of the circuitous route they were forced to take, and so did not reach Charlotte until the day after the battle at King's Mountain. Ferguson scorned to seek protection by making a forced march in order to effect a junction with Cornwallis at Charlotte. He preferred to make a stand, and, if possible, to dispose once for all of this barbarian mountain horde. From his camp Ferguson issued the following inflammatory and obscene appeal to the people, well calculated to arouse their bitter hostility to the approaching band, which he characterized as murderers of men and ravishers of women.

Denard's Ford, Broad River,

Tryon County, October 1, 1780.

GENTLEMEN :—Unless you wish to be eat up by an inundation of barbarians, who have begun by murdering an unarmed son before his aged father and afterward lopped off his arms, and who by their shocking cruelties and irregularities, give the best proof of their cowardice and want of discipline; I say if you want to be pinioned, robbed, and murdered, and see your wives and daughters, in four days, abused by the dregs of mankind—in short, if you wish or deserve to live, and bear the name of men grasp your arms in a moment and run to camp.

The Back Water men have crossed the mountains; McDowell, Hampton, Shelby, and Cleveland are at their head, so that you know

<sup>10</sup>This letter was found on Ferguson's dead body, after the battle of King's Mountain. See Ramsey: *Annals of Tennessee*, 241-2.



what you have to depend upon. If you choose to be p—d upon by a set of mongrels, say so at once, and let your women turn their backs upon you and look out for real men to protect them.

PAT. FERGUSON,  
*Major 71st Regiment.*<sup>11</sup>

Loitering on his march, presumably in the hope of striking Clarke, Ferguson did not reach King's Mountain until October 6. On reaching Gilbert Town (near Rutherfordton, N. C.) on October 4, the Americans discovered that Ferguson had retired. "Having gained a knowledge of his design," related Shelby, "it was determined in a council of the principal officers to pursue him with all possible dispatch. Accordingly two nights before the action the officers were engaged all night in selecting the best men, the best horses and the best rifles, and at the dawn of day took Ferguson's trail and pursued him. . . . The mountain men had turned out to catch Ferguson. He was their object, and for the last thirty-six hours they never alighted from their horses but once to refresh at the Cowpens for an hour (where they were joined by Col. Williams of South Carolina, on the evening of the 6th with about 400 men), although the day of the action was so extremely wet that the men could only keep their guns dry by wrapping their bags, blankets and hunting shirts around the locks, which exposed their bodies to a heavy and incessant rain."<sup>12</sup>

In this connection, there is need of further detail in regard to the force under Williams. The account given by Draper is at once imperfect and distorted; and his estimate is grievously warped by the prejudiced account written by South Carolinians who held Williams in detestation. James D. Williams was not a South Carolinian; he was born in Hanover County, Virginia, in November, 1740. Since childhood he had lived in Granville County, N. C., whither the Williams

<sup>11</sup>*Virginia Gazette*, November 11, 1780. The barbarous atrocity alluded to at the beginning of this letter is unsupported by evidence of any kind.

<sup>12</sup>*Autobiography of Isaac Shelby*, an exact transcription of which I procured from the late Colonel R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky. The valuable Durrett Collection of Manuscripts on Western History is now owned by the University of Chicago.

family removed at an early date; and here he remained until 1772, when he went to South Carolina and settled on Little River in Laurens County. At the battle of Musgrove Mill, as related by Shelby himself, Williams<sup>13</sup> commanded the American center, while Shelby and Clarke commanded the right and left wings, respectively. The most reliable authorities state that Williams held the chief command in this battle.<sup>14</sup> On his arrival at Hillsborough whither he conducted the prisoners taken at Musgrove Mill, Williams conveyed the news of this victory to Governor Rutledge of South Carolina, then a refugee from his own State. In recognition of the victory at Musgrove Mill, achieved by the force commanded by Williams, Governor Rutledge commissioned him as a brigadier general in the South Carolina militia.<sup>15</sup> On September 8, Governor Abner Nash of North Carolina instructed General Williams to go to Caswell and other counties and recruit a corps of volunteer horsemen, not to exceed one hundred, for active service against the enemy.<sup>16</sup> This force, about seventy in number, Williams enlisted chiefly while encamped at Higgins' plantation in Rowan County. These recruits were brave and reliable soldiers; and they came from a county noted for its patriotism and its hostility to England. "It was evident and it had frequently been mentioned to the King's Officers," says Banastre Tarleton in his *Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces*, "that the counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan were more hostile to England than any others in America."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Cf. "Isaac Shelby," I, p. 140, *North Carolina Booklet*, January, 1917.

<sup>14</sup>A *Sketch of the Life and Career of Col. James D. Williams*, by Rev. J. D. Bailey (Cowpens, S. C., 1898).

<sup>15</sup>The official report, which in itself constitutes proof that Williams was in command at Musgrove Mill, was drawn up and signed by Williams; and this is the only contemporary report of the battle from the field. On September 5, 1780, Williams' official report was forwarded by General Gates to the President of Congress. The full report was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on September 23, and doubtless earlier in North Carolina newspapers; but the substance of the report, doubtless communicated by Governor Rutledge, appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* as early as September 13. Compare also *North Carolina University Magazine*, March, 1855.

<sup>16</sup>For a copy of the original order, see Schenck, *North Carolina, 1780-1781*, 143n.

<sup>17</sup>The slur cast upon these Rowan recruits by the venomous Colonel Hill in his Manuscript Narrative only reflect upon their author. The Legislature of North Carolina, in November, 1788, acting upon a report submitted by Mr. Thomas Person, resolved: "That the estate of James Williams, deceased, late

The number chosen from the over-mountain men to go forward from the ford of Green River on the night of October 5, was about seven hundred; and at the Cowpens, as accurately stated by Shelby, they were reinforced by four hundred men under Williams.<sup>18</sup> Here a second selection of nine hundred and ten horsemen was made; and Colonel Campbell was retained in the chief command—the urgency of the pursuit making it inadvisable to await the coming of the general officer for whom Col. Charles McDowell had gone to Hillsborough. This force, closely followed by some eighty-odd footmen (“foot-cavalry”) pushed forward from the Cowpens on the night of October 6, in pursuit of the elusive Ferguson.

So heavy was the fall of rain during the forenoon and so weary and jaded were the men, that Campbell, Sevier and Cleveland urged a halt; but to this proposal the iron Shelby, intent upon the capture and destruction of the men who had threatened to hang him, gruffly replied with an oath: “I will not stop until night, if I follow Ferguson into Cornwallis’ lines.” As they approached King’s Mountain, they encountered three men who reported that they were just from the British camp, which was posted upon the plateau, and that there was a picket guard on the road not far ahead. “These men,” says Benjamin Sharp in his account, “were detained lest they should find means to inform the enemy of our approach, and Col. Shelby, with a select party, undertook to surprise and take the picket; this he accomplished without firing a gun or giving the least alarm; and it was hailed by the army as a good omen.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>On October 2, Brigadier General Williams reported to Major-General Gates that the number then with him in Burke County was “about four hundred and fifty horsemen.” Cf. *N. C. State Records*, xv. 94. He was in error as to his location, which was actually in Lincoln County.

<sup>19</sup>*American Pioneer*, February, 1843.

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of the State of S. C. be released and acquitted from the payment of \$25,000 advanced to the said deceased in his lifetime (1780) by this state for the purpose of raising men for the defense of this and the United States, it having been manifested to this Assembly that he was in action at the Battle of King’s Mountain where he headed three or four hundred men and in which action he gloriously fell, a sacrifice to liberty.” See W. A. Graham: *Gen. Joseph Graham and His Revolutionary Papers*, 282-3. In speaking of “our march to the Yadkin,” Cornwallis calls the Rowan section “one of the most rebellious tracts in America.”

## IV

The remarkable battle which ensued presents an extraordinary contrast in the character of the combatants and the nature of the strategy and tactics employed. Each party ran true to form—the heroic and brilliant Ferguson repeating Braddock's suicidal tactics of opposing bayonet charges to the deadly fusillade of riflemen, carefully posted, Indian fashion, behind trees and every shelter afforded by the natural inequalities of the ground. In the army of the Carolina and Virginia frontiersmen, composed of independent commands recruited from many sources and each solicitous for its own credit, each command was directed in the battle by its own leader. Campbell, like Cleveland, Shelby, McDowell, Sevier, and Hambright, personally led his own division; but the nature of the fighting and the peculiarity of the *terrain* made it impossible for him, though the chosen commander of the expedition, in actuality to play such a role. The tactics agreed upon in advance by the frontier commanders were simple enough—to surround and capture Ferguson's camp on the high plateau. The more experienced Indian fighters, Sevier and Shelby, unquestionably suggested the general tactics in accordance with their experience, which in any case would doubtless have been employed by the frontiersmen: to give the British "Indian-play," namely, to take cover anywhere and fire from natural shelter. Cleveland, a Hercules in strength and courage, who had fought the Indians and recognized the wisdom of Indian tactics, ordered his men, as did some of the other leaders, to give way before a bayonet charge—but to return to the attack after the charge had spent its force.

My brave fellows, we have beaten the Tories and we can do it again. . . . If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When you are engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you, by my example, how to fight; I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself an officer and act from

his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees or retreat; but I beg you not to run quite off. If we are repulsed, let us make a point of returning and renewing the fight; perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than in the first.

The plateau upon which Ferguson was encamped was the top of an eminence about six hundred yards long and about two hundred and fifty from one base across to the other; and its shape was that of an Indian paddle, varying from one hundred and twenty yards at the blade to sixty yards at the handle in width. Outcropping boulders upon the outer edge of the plateau afforded some slight shelter for Ferguson's force; but, unsuspecting of the coming attack, Ferguson had made no *abatis* to protect his camp from the attack to which it was so vulnerable from the cover of the timber surrounding it on all sides. In taking their positions, the center to the North-East was occupied by Cleveland with his Bulldogs, Hambright with his South Fork Boys, from the Catawba (now Lincoln County, North Carolina), and Winston with his Surry Riflemen; to the South were the divisions under Joseph McDowell (brother of Charles) who was in touch with Winston, Sevier and Campbell; while the South Carolinians under Lacey, who was in touch with Cleveland, the Rowan levies under Williams, and the Watauga borderers under Shelby were stationed upon the North side. Ferguson's force consisted of Provincial Rangers, one hundred and fifty strong, and of well drilled loyalists, between eight and nine hundred, seriously weakened by the absence of a foraging party of between one and two hundred who had gone off on the morning the battle occurred. Shelby's men, before getting into position, received a hot fire, the opening shots of the engagement—which inspired Campbell, who now threw off his coat, to shout encouraging orders to his men, posted on the side of the mountain opposite to Shelby's force. When Campbell's Virginians uttered a series of piercing shouts, De



Peyster, second in command, remarked to his chief: "These things are ominous—these are the damned yelling boys."

The battle, which lasted some minutes short of an hour, was waged with terrific ferocity. The loyalist militia, wherever possible, fired from the shelter of the rocks; while the Provincial Corps, with fixed bayonets, steadily charged the frontiersmen, who fired at close range and rapidly withdrew to the very base of the mountain. After each bayonet charge, the Provincials coolly withdrew to the summit, under the accumulating fire of the returning mountaineers, who quickly gathered in their rear. Owing to their elevation, the British, although using the rapid-fire breech-loading rifle invented by Ferguson himself, found their vision deflected, continually firing high; and thus suffered nature's handicap, refraction.<sup>20</sup> The militia, using sharpened butcher knives which Ferguson taught them to utilize as bayonets, charged against the mountaineers; but their fire, in answer to the deadly fusillade of the expert squirrel shooters, was belated, owing to the fact that they could not fire so long as the crudely improvised bayonets remained in their pieces. The Americans, continually firing upward, found ready marks for their aim in the clearly delineated outlines of their adversaries; and felt the exultation which animates the hunter who has tracked to his lair and entrapped wild game at bay.

The leaders of the various divisions of the mountaineers bore themselves with impetuous bravery, recklessly exposing themselves between the lines of fire and with native eloquence, interspersed with mild profanity, rallying their individual commands, from end to end, once more to the attack. Campbell scaled the rugged heights, encouraging his men to the ascent. Cleveland resolutely facing the foe, rallied his bulldogs with the inspiring words: "Come, boys, let's try 'em again. We'll have better luck next time." The most deadly charge, led by De Peyster himself, fell upon Hambright's South Fork boys; and Major Chronicle, waving his military

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<sup>20</sup>F. Brevard McDowell: *The Battle of King's Mountain*.

hat, fell dead, the command, "Face to the hill!" dying upon his lips. These veteran soldiers met the shock of the charge; a number of their men were shot down or transfixed, and the remainder, reserving their fire until the charging column was only a few feet away, poured in a deadly volley before retiring. William Lenoir, independently fighting in Winston's column, was in the forefront of the hottest battle, his reckless bravery making him a veritable target for the enemy. He received several wounds and his hair and his clothes were riddled with bullets. The ranking American officer, Brigadier General James Williams, was mortally wounded on the "very top of the mountain, in the thickest of the fight"; and as he revived for a moment, an eye-witness relates, his first words were: "For God's sake, boys, don't give up the hill." Hambright, sorely wounded, his boot overflowing with blood and his hat riddled with three bullet holes, declined to dismount, but pressed gallantly forward, exclaiming in his "Pennsylvania Dutch": "Huzza, my prave poys, fight on a few minutes more, and te pattle will be over!" On the British side Ferguson was supremely brave, rapidly dashing from one side to the other, oblivious to all danger. Wherever the shrill note of his silver whistle sounded, there the fighting was hottest and the British resistance deadliest. His officers fought with the characteristic steadiness of the British soldier, and again and again charged headlong against the wavering circle of the frontiersmen.<sup>21</sup>

Ferguson's authentic boast—that "he was on King's Mountain, that he was king of the mountain and that God Almighty could not drive him from it"—was doubtless prompted, less by belief in the impregnability of his position, than by a desire to inspire confidence in his men. His position was admirably chosen for defense against attack by troops employing regulation tactics; but never dreaming of the possibility of sudden investment, Ferguson had erected no defenses for

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<sup>21</sup>Forerunners of the Republic: "Isaac Shelby," *Neale's Monthly*, March, 1913.

his encampment. The disesteem in which he held the mountaineers found expression in the passionate declaration: "I will never surrender to such damned banditti as the mountain men." His frenzied efforts on the battle-field seem like a mad rush against fate; for his position was indefensible against the peculiar tactics of the frontiersmen. While the mountain flamed like a volcano and resounded with the thunder of the guns, a steady stricture was in progress; the lines were drawn tighter and tighter around the trapped and frantically struggling army; and at last the fall of their commander, riddled with bullets, proved the mad futility of further resistance. The game was caught and bagged to a man. When Winston with his fox-hunters of Surry dashed recklessly through the woods, says a chronicler of the battle, and "the last to come into position:

'Flow'd in, and settling, circled all the lists,'

then

'From all the circle of the hills  
Death sleeted in upon the doomed.'"<sup>22</sup>

## V

In reviewing the details of the battle, especial interest attaches here to everything which concerns Isaac Shelby. In a contemporary letter to his father, he gives the following terse account of the battle:

That Providence who always rules and governs all things for the best, so ordered it that we were around them before we were discovered, and formed in such position, so as to fire on them nearly about (sic) the same time, though they heard us in time to form and stood ready. The battle continued warm for an hour; the enemy finding themselves so embarrassed on all sides, surrendered themselves prisoners to us at discretion.

They had taken post at that place with the confidence that no force could rout them; the mountain was high, and exceedingly steep, so

<sup>22</sup>J. W. de Peyster: "The Affair at King's Mountain." Reprinted from *The Magazine of American History*, Dec., 1880. Cf. also the same writer's sketch: "The Battle or Affair of King's Mountain," 1881. These give the extreme British view.

that their situation gave them greatly the advantage; indeed it was almost equal to storming a battery. In most cases we could not see them until we were within twenty yards of them. They repelled us three times with charged bayonets; but being determined to conquer or die, we came up a fourth time, and fairly got possession of the top of the mountain.<sup>28</sup>

The final general order to the mountain men, before the engagement, was eloquent of the general determination: "Fresh prime your guns, and every man go into battle firmly resolved to *fight till he dies!*"

"The enemy," says Robert Campbell, "annoyed our troops very much from their advantageous position. Col. Shelby, being previously ordered to reconnoitre their position, observing their situation, and what a destructive fire was kept up from those rocks, ordered Robert Campbell, one of the officers of the Virginia Line, to move to the right with a small company to endeavor to dislodge them, and lead them on nearly to the ground which he had ordered them, under fire of the enemy's lines and within forty steps of the same; but discovering that our men were repulsed on the other side of the mountain, he gave orders to advance, and post themselves opposite to the rocks, and near to the enemy, and then returned to assist in bringing up the men in order, who had been charged with the bayonet. These orders were punctually obeyed, and they kept up such a galling fire as to compel Ferguson to order a company of regulars to face them, with a view to cover his men that were posted behind the rocks. At this time a considerable fire was drawn to this side of the mountain by the repulse of those on the other, and the Loyalists not being permitted to leave their posts. This scene was not of long duration, for it was the brave Virginia volunteers, and those under Col. Shelby, on their attempting rapidly to ascend the mountain, that were charged with the bayonet. They obstinately stood until some of them were thrust through the body, and having nothing but their rifles by which to defend themselves, they were forced to retreat.

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<sup>28</sup>*Virginia Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1780.

They were soon rallied by their gallant commanders, Campbell, Shelby, and other brave officers, and by a constant and well-directed fire of their rifles, drove them back in their turn, strewing the face of the mountain with their assailants, and kept advancing until they drove them from some of their posts."<sup>24</sup> Shelby's men, by his own statement, actually reached the summit of the mountain which "was covered with flame and smoke and seemed to thunder."<sup>25</sup>

The regiments of Shelby and Campbell began the attack; and the enemy first fired upon Shelby's men before they were in position. This galling fire distressed the mountaineers, who were heard to mutter that "it would never do to be shot down without returning the fire." To which the intrepid Shelby coolly replied: "Pass on to your places, and then your fire will not be lost."<sup>26</sup> Bancroft says: "Shelby, a man of the hardiest make, stiff as iron, among the dauntless singled out for dauntlessness, went right onward and upward like a man who had but one thing to do, and but one thought—to do it." Brave as he and his men were, says Draper, they, too, had to retreat before the charging column, but firing as they retired. When, at the bottom of the hill, Shelby wanted to bring his men to order, he would cry out—"Now, boys, quickly reload your rifles, and give them another hell of a fire."<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the entire battle, Shelby's inspiring battle-cry was: "Never shoot until you see an enemy, and never see an enemy without bringing him down."<sup>28</sup>

Shelby was in the very front line of the fight from the outset of the engagement to its very close. "When the British were loudly calling for quarters, but uncertain whether they would be granted," says Benjamin Sharp, "I saw the intrepid Shelby rush his horse within fifteen paces of their lines, and commanded them to lay down their arms, and they should have quarters. Some would call this an impru-

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<sup>24</sup>*Annals of the Army of Tennessee*, Oct., 1878.

<sup>25</sup>Haywood's *Tennessee*.

<sup>26</sup>Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina* (Graham's *Sketch*), p. 268.

<sup>27</sup>MS. statement of Gen. Thomas Love, derived from Captain David Vance.

<sup>28</sup>Nile's *National Register*, iv. 403.



dent act, but it shows the daring bravery of the man.”<sup>29</sup> As the demoralized Tories continued to cry “Quarters! Quarters!,” Shelby fiercely shouted: “Damn you! If you want quarters, throw down your arms!” In a letter written by John Sevier to Isaac Shelby (Aug. 27, 1812), we read: “You were in the heat of the action. I frequently saw you animating your men to victory. At the surrender, you were the first field officer I recollect to have seen. . . . I perfectly recollect on seeing you at the close of the action, that I swore by — they had burnt off your hair, for it was much burnt on one side.”

Owing to the volley fired upon the victors by a returning foraging party of the British, a fire which killed the daring General James Williams, the incensed Americans under Campbell’s orders returned the fire, though the British had already surrendered. This created a very alarming situation, and Shelby, who feared that the enemy might yet, perhaps, snatch up their arms in self-defense and resume the battle, exclaimed: “Good God! What can we do in the confusion?” “We can order the prisoners from their arms,” said Captain Sawyers. “Yes,” responded Shelby, “that can be done”; and the prisoners were accordingly marched off, and placed under a strong guard.

Ferguson was mortally wounded near the close of the action; and as he was being carried off, the exultant Shelby rode up and with incredible callousness said to him, though doubtless life was then totally extinct: “Colonel, the fatal blow is struck—we’ve Burgoyned you.”<sup>30</sup> In the division of Ferguson’s effects, the foot-long silver whistle, the piercing note of which had been heard again and again above the clamor and din of the battle, fell to Shelby’s lot.

According to expert military opinion, the plan of attack employed by the Americans was probably the only method of assault by which the British could have been defeated. Impartial examination of all the evidence available, which

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<sup>29</sup>*American Pioneer*, Feb., 1843.

<sup>30</sup>Related by Thos. H. Spelts and Thomas H. Shelby, a son of the Colonel.

includes much material not accessible to Draper, leads to the conclusion that the chief credit for inaugurating the entire campaign belongs to Shelby. The nominal leadership was conferred upon Campbell; and among the reasons, not already mentioned, assigned for giving him the chief command, were that he commanded the largest division of the forces and had come from the greatest distance. In the battle the conditions of combat enabled him to do little more than lead the men of his own division; and this he did with conspicuous bravery and gallantry. It is scarcely to be doubted that the very tactics pursued in the battle, the only tactics it would seem which could have been successful, were outlined, not by Campbell, but by Shelby himself. The following significant lines, from a letter written to Shelby by Colonel John Sevier, from Marble Springs, Tennessee, August 27, 1812, are eloquent on the point:—

As to the plan of attacking the enemy, yourself was the only person that named the mode to me, and the same was acceded to unanimously. No doubt you recollect we argued on the manner of attack immediately after Ferguson's spies were taken, while we were a little in front of our army, and as we were returning back to Campbell and the other officers.<sup>31</sup>

## VI

A digression from the continuity of the narrative is necessary at this point, in order to bring to light valuable documents, hitherto unpublished, which throw into truer perspective the role played by Shelby in the King's Mountain campaign. They tend to correct some of the false impressions fostered by Roosevelt and, to a lesser degree, by Draper.

On February 11, 1781, the North Carolina State Senate, in session at Halifax, placed the following on record:—

Resolved, That the Speaker of this House be requested, with the Speaker of the Commons, to transmit to Colonel Campbell, of Vir-

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<sup>31</sup>"Hero of Three Wars," by C. H. Todd, in *Journal of American History*, 2nd number, 2nd volume, 1908. These lines from Sevier's letter have been omitted generally by historians, even by Draper in *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* (pp. 575-6). Such an omission is almost inexplicable.

ginia, Colonel Cleveland, Colonel Shelby, and the brave Officers and Soldiers under their command the following address, to wit:

GENTLEMEN :

The General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, impressed with a deep sense of your eminent services during the last Summer's Campaign have unanimously resolved that the Speakers of the two Houses should transmit to you their warmest acknowledgments for your spirited and vigorous Exertions against the formidable body of British Forces under Major Ferguson at King's Mountain. The alacrity with which you stepped forth uncalled for by Authority, your Vigilance in Marching to, and your conduct in, the attack of the Enemy, deserve the highest Encomiums, and strongly mark Patriotism and Heroism united in the same persons. To these Virtues, which you, Gentlemen, so happily possess, your Country is indebted for the important Victory which frustrated the schemes of the enemy, awed many of the disaffected into submission, and rescued the western parts of this State from devastation and ruin and the horrors attendant on a War directed by Tyranny and pursued with vindictive Resentment.

We do therefore in obedience to the order of the two Houses and with the highest satisfaction to ourselves transmit to you the thanks of your country by its representatives in General Assembly.

Ordered that the foregoing Address with the following Message be sent the Commons for concurrence.

MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN :

We send for your approbation an address proposed by this House to be presented the officers who distinguished themselves in the capture of the British, commanded by Major Ferguson, at King's Mountain.

Resolved, that an elegant mounted sword be presented to each of the following officers, that is to say, Colo. Cleveland, of Wilkes County, Colonel Campbell of Virginia, Colonel Shelby of Sullivan County, Lieutenant Colonel Sevier of Washington County, Lieutenant Colonel Hambright of Lincoln County, Major Winston of Surry County and Major Shelby of Sullivan County for their voluntary and distinguished services in the defeat of Major Ferguson at the battle of King's Mountain.

An extraordinary series of blunders, which to this day have remained unexplained, now took place in connection with the "resolution" above-mentioned. The original journal of the assembly, as well as the printed copy, contains a message from the House to the Senate, approving of the "address"

above-mentioned; but nowhere in the original journal is record or even mention made of any action taken by the House upon the Senate "resolution" concerning the swords. That no steps were taken to procure and present the swords mentioned in the resolution was doubtless due to the fact that the journal contained no record of the joint concurrence of House and Senate in this "resolution"; and consequently no committee was appointed to carry out the terms of the "resolution." Shelby and Sevier both believed that the swords had been voted them by the Assembly.<sup>32</sup>

The question which remains unanswered until the present day is: "Did the Legislature of North Carolina in February, 1781, vote the swords to Shelby, Sevier, Winston, and the others mentioned in the 'resolution'?" The original manuscript of the "resolution" itself, still preserved, and now in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, conclusively shows that the swords were thus voted. Upon it are inscribed the following:—

In the H Commons 11 Feby 1781

Concurred with

By order

Jno Hunt C H C

and the endorsement:

11th Feby laid over til Tomorrow morning.

The "resolution" was "laid over" until February 12, awaiting action upon the "address"; and the "address," bearing the approval of the House, was received by the Senate on February 13. The explanation of the blunder is probably due to the careless reading of the secretary who compiled the journal in failing to note, and so, to record, that the "address" and the "resolution" were two different things and that *both* had been concurred with by the House.

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<sup>32</sup>N. C. State Records, xvii, 696-7, 704, support the statements made above. In his *Annals of Tennessee*, 248, Ramsey is in error in stating that the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1781 "passed a resolution that a sword and pistols should be presented to both Shelby and Sevier." As printed in the N. C. State Records, xvii, 697, "Lewis" is a misprint for "Sevier."

Shortly after the battle of King's Mountain, the General Assembly of Virginia "ordered that a good horse, with elegant furniture, and a sword" be presented to William Campbell.<sup>33</sup> Singularly enough, Virginia like North Carolina was inexplicably dilatory in carrying out the will of the General Assembly. At the instance of friends of the late William Campbell, the General Assembly of Virginia in 1809, it appears, caused a handsome and costly sword, purchased in France, to be presented to William Campbell Preston, William Campbell's grandson.

When this information reached Shelby in 1809, it produced, as he acknowledges, "some feelings of emulation and solicitude, and a sense that equal justice had not been done to all who participated in that memorable achievement." Accordingly, he engaged in private correspondence with John Sevier on the subject; and years afterwards frankly acknowledged that the object of the letters was "to concert with him (Sevier) the means of reminding North Carolina of her ancient promise, and of obtaining those swords which thirty years before had been voted to us, as the honorable memorials of our good conduct, and our country's approbation." Shelby confessed to his very natural sense of the injustice in the recognition of Campbell, while Sevier and himself remained unrecognized.<sup>34</sup>

## VII

During the political campaign of 1812, when Shelby was making the race for the governorship of Kentucky, falsehoods were freely circulated against him, minimizing the part he played in the King's Mountain campaign. To meet these charges, an article signed "Narrator" appeared in the *Kentucky Reporter*, July 25, 1812, giving undue credit to Shelby as leader of the King's Mountain campaign and casting unworthy aspersions upon the bravery of Colonel Campbell. The article was replied to in the same paper, of June 20,

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<sup>33</sup>Summers: *Southwest Virginia*, 337-9.

<sup>34</sup>See Governor Shelby's pamphlet: "Battle of King's Mountain."



1813, by William C. Preston, who made a spirited vindication of the charge of cowardice preferred against his grandfather.

Nine years later, the controversy broke forth anew, when Colonel George Washington Sevier caused to be published in the *Nashville Gazette* four private letters written to his father, John Sevier, by Isaac Shelby. In one of these letters, (January 1, 1810), Shelby makes the damaging charge:

It is a fact well known, and for which he (Campbell) apologized to me the day after the action, that he was not within less than one quarter of a mile of the enemy at the time they surrendered to you and myself.

This brought forth from William C. Preston another statement in the newspapers of the day, entitled "Colonel Campbell and Governor Shelby," claiming the chief honors of the victory at King's Mountain for his grandfather, and vehemently repelling the insinuation of cowardice contained in Shelby's private letter to Sevier, lately given to the public by G. W. Sevier.

An elaborate survey and investigation of the whole question was then made by Shelby and published as a pamphlet in 1823.<sup>35</sup> Extended replies to this pamphlet were made: by William C. Preston in the *Telescope* of Columbia, S. C., May 10, 1823, and by General John Campbell in the *Enquirer* of Richmond, Va., June 24, 1823. This prolonged and regrettable controversy had certain important consequences, and resulted in establishing certain cardinal facts touching the conduct of Campbell, Shelby and Sevier. Campbell's fame remained entirely undimmed by the charges of Shelby, who, clearly, had misinterpreted a remark made by Campbell on the battle-field; and furthermore Shelby was utterly misled, through the fact that Campbell's body servant rode his horse during the battle, into the belief that Campbell remained in the rear during the action. The credit for initiating the campaign, it was clearly established, belonged to Shelby, who acted in concert with Sevier. There is no reason

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<sup>35</sup>Appendix to Draper's *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, 560-582.

to doubt that Shelby was entirely honest in believing the charges, however unworthy and untrue, which he preferred against Campbell.

In his article in the *Telescope*, Wm. C. Preston published an affidavit of Colonel Matthew Willoughby, in which he discredited the testimony of Moses Shelby, brother of Isaac, who had testified in the Shelby pamphlet (1823) that during the latter half of the battle of King's Mountain, Campbell remained stationary near the foot of the mountain, in plain sight of him. Colonel Willoughby deputed that "the statement of Moses Shelby would not, perhaps, be credited, from the character he bore about the time and after the battle, as he, with others, was engaged in plundering in the Carolinas, both Whigs and Tories, and running the property so plundered to this side of the mountains."

The following letter from Isaac Shelby to John J. Crittenden, famous Kentuckian, who had been Shelby's Aide-de-camp on the Canadian campaign in the War of 1812, is important as giving valuable evidence, not only concerning the character of Moses Shelby, but also in regard to the battle of King's Mountain. It was evidently not seen by Draper, or by Roosevelt, who accepts, apparently without question, the charges against Moses Shelby.

Danville, June 16th, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—You have no doubt before this seen the replies of both General Preston and his son to my publication. Colonel Preston proposes to establish for his own father the merit of planning the expedition which led to Ferguson's defeat.

I have examined the subject in my own mind in every point of view, and cannot in the remotest manner discover wherein General Preston could have had any agency in this exploit. I lived nearly one hundred and twenty miles from him, in a different State, and had no kind of communication with him on the subject, and from every recollection, I am convinced that the statement I gave you is indisputably true. I recollect, however, that Major Cloyd, with three hundred men from the county of Montgomery, commanded by Colonel Preston, fought an action with the Tories at the shallow ford of the Yadkin River, nearly one hundred miles north of King's Mountain, about two weeks after the defeat of Ferguson. It has always been a mystery to me as to Cloyd's destination, or that of the enemy whom

he encountered. I have only understood that they met accidentally in the road, and that the enemy was composed of the enemies in the neighborhood, and of the Bryants, of Kentucky, some of whom were killed in the fight.

If Ferguson was Cloyd's object, he was too weak to effect anything, and besides, Lord Cornwallis, with the British army, lay directly in the route between them. My convictions are so clear on this point I have no fear that General Preston can render my statement doubtful. He proposes, too, to invalidate the testimony of Moses Shelby. I will, for your own satisfaction, give you a short sketch of his history. Moses was in his nineteenth year when he left his father's house to join the expedition against Ferguson and had never before, to my knowledge, been more than forty miles from home. It is well known that our march was too rapid for a youth of that age to trespass in any manner, the army having marched two or three hundred miles, and fought the battle in twelve days, three of which we were detained on the road from different causes. Moses was severely wounded at the Mountain, and the bone of one thigh being fractured, he could be carried but a short distance from the battle-ground, where he lay on his back nearly three months, and was only able to ride out a few days before General Morgan came up into the district of Ninety-Six. He joined Morgan but a day or two before the battle of the Cowpens, on the 17th of January, 1781. Here he was wounded more severely than at the Mountain, and lay, until March or April, under the hands of a surgeon. When Colonel Clarke, of Georgia, came on with his followers to commence the siege of Augusta, his wounds were still sore and open, but at the warm solicitations of Clarke, Moses joined the expedition, and was appointed Captain of horse. It is well known that the siege lasted until May or June following, in which Moses was actively engaged, and Clarke asserted to many that he made several charges on the enemy, who sallied during the siege, which would have done honor to Count Pulaski. Moses returned home shortly after the siege, and never crossed the mountains again during the war. The next year, 1782, he, with other adventurers, went to the new settlements, then forming where Nashville now stands, where he continued off and on until he married, two or three years afterwards. As the settlements progressed down the Cumberland, he was always among the foremost of the pioneers. He finally settled in what is now called Livingston County, Kentucky, where at the unanimous solicitation of the inhabitants, he was appointed colonel of the new county, about the year 1793. He had the command for a number of years. And after the acquisition of Louisiana, he removed to that territory, and now resides on the west side of the Mississippi, two miles below New Madrid, covered with the scars of thirteen deep wounds, received in defence of his country, for which he is too proud to receive a pension, always disdaining to apply for one. In his youth he was of a warm and ardent disposition,

always ready to risk his life for a friend, and profuse of his property (of which he had a considerable inheritance), even to a fault. It would exceed the bounds of a letter to give you a statement of the many hair-breadth escapes and imminent dangers through which he passed. Soon after his marriage, he became impressed with religious sentiments, joined the Methodist Church, liberated his slaves, and, so far as I know and believe, has always supported a good character in that county.

It is possible, while at the South, in 1780-81, from his ardent disposition and the prevailing excitement of the times, that he may in some cases have acted imprudently. The war between the Whigs and Tories was carried on with the utmost rancor and malice, each endeavoring to do the greatest injury to the other.

Colonel Willoughby, whose affidavit has been published, swears to no point. He lived three hundred miles from the scene of action, and his information may have been very erroneous.

If, however, General Preston proves apparently anything more, he shall be answered.

I have made this hasty sketch for your own satisfaction.

I remain, dear Sir, very respectfully, your friend,

ISAAC SHELBY.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN.<sup>36</sup>

## VIII

After their exchanges of letters in 1810, Shelby and Sevier, throwing conventional modesty to the winds, prepared a joint memorial to the General Assembly of North Carolina. This was presented by the Senator from Surry, Joseph Winston, on December 15, 1812, of which the following record is found:

Mr. Winston presented the memorial of Issac (*sic*) Shelby and John Sevier, setting forth that in consideration of public services rendered during our revolutionary war, and particularly for their conduct at the battle of King's Mountain, the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, in the year 1781, did vote each of the memorialists an elegant sword and pair of pistols, which they have not heretofore applied for or received; and they pray that this testimonial of the approbation of the state for their conduct be now complied with. This memorial being read, was referred to the committee of Propositions and Grievances, and sent to the House of Commons.<sup>37</sup>

The matter was later referred to a special committee consisting of Messrs. Porter and W. W. Jones on the part of the

<sup>36</sup>Mrs. C. Coleman: *The Life of John J. Crittenden*, v, 56-8 (1871).

<sup>37</sup>Senate Journal, 1812.

House, and Messrs. Atkinson and Gaston on the part of the Senate. On December 22, 1812, Mr. Gaston submitted an extended report after investigation, in which it is stated:

Your committee find, upon an examination of the journal of the House of Commons, that the proposed address obtained the approbation and concurrence of the house; but they do not find any determination relative to the second resolution of the Senate, nor any minute that such resolution had been received by them. Your committee, however, have been informed, and so believe, that the House of Commons did concur with the Senate in this latter resolution, as well as in that for presenting to their patriots and heroes the thanks of the Legislature.<sup>38</sup>

In order to pay what Gaston describes as "the long procrastinated debt of gratitude and honor," the House and Senate unanimously passed the following:—

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to procure three elegant swords, such as in his estimation is (*sic*) not unworthy of North Carolina to bestow, on those who have distinguished claims on the gratitude of her citizens; and that he cause them severally to be presented, in the name of this State, to General Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, General John Sevier of Tennessee, and Colonel Joseph Winston of this State, the three surviving chiefs of the gallant band who fought and conquered at King's Mountain, on the memorable 7th of October, 1780.<sup>39</sup>

In carrying out the resolution, Governor William Hawkins enlisted the services of the Hon. James Turner, at that time representing North Carolina in the United States Senate. At the instance of Mr. Turner, the swords were purchased in New York by Mr. Robert Walker of Petersburg, assisted by Colonel Swift. The swords thus procured, according to instruction, were "in point of elegance inferior to none that can be procured." The sword presented to Shelby, with which the others were identical save for name, bore upon

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<sup>38</sup>Senate Journal. It seems extraordinary that a man of Gaston's legislative experience should have omitted to examine the original manuscript of the Senate resolution of February 11, 1781, which would have resolved all his doubts.

<sup>39</sup>It is a source of lasting regret that another regrettable oversight was made at this time. A fourth leader in the King's Mountain campaign whose name was included in the original resolution, was Lieutenant Colonel Hambricht, of Lincoln County, who survived until March, 1817. Grave injustice was done, in that no sword was presented to Lieutenant Colonel Hambricht in 1813.



one side of the hilt the inscription: "King's Mountain—October 7, 1780," upon the other: "State of North Carolina to Colonel Isaac Shelby." Writing to Governor Hawkins from Warren County on September 19, 1813, the Hon. James Turner says concerning these swords: "The one for Col. Shelby was forwarded through the politeness of Mr. Clay, the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The one for Col. Savier (*sic*) was delivered to him by myself (he being in Washington). The one for Col. Winston was forwarded to him by Mr. Yancey, one of the members of Congress from this State. The letters of the Gentlemen was (*sic*) delivered and forwarded by the same Gentlemen who took charge of the swords."<sup>40</sup>

The following letter, just referred to, was sent to Isaac Shelby, then Governor of Kentucky, by Governor William Hawkins of North Carolina.<sup>41</sup>

Executive Office, N. C.

Raleigh 17th, July 1813.

SIR, In compliance with a resolution of the General Assembly of this State passed at their last Session I have the honor of tendering you the sword which this letter accompanies as a testimony of the distinguished claim you have on the gratitude of the State for your gallantry in achieving with your brothers in arms the glorious victory over the British forces commanded by Colo. Ferguson at the battle of King's Mountain on the memorable 7th of October 1780. This tribute of respect though bestowed at a protracted period, will not be considered the less honorable on that account when you are informed that it is in unison with a resolution of the General Assembly passed in the year 1781, which from some cause not well ascertained, it is to be regretted was not complied with.

Permit me Sir, to make you an expression of the high gratification felt by me at being the favored instrument to present to you in the name of the State of North Carolina, this testimonial of gratitude—this meed of valour, and to remark, that contending as we are at the present time with the same foe for our just rights the pleasing hope may be entertained that the valorous deeds of the heroes of our

<sup>40</sup>Governor Hawkins' *Letter Book*, 1812-3, 429. For assistance in making these researches, I am indebted to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the N. C. Historical Commission.

<sup>41</sup>An exact transcript of the same letter was likewise transmitted to General John Sevier, of Tennessee, and Colonel Joseph Winston, of North Carolina. Cf. Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 248-254, and "The Life and Times of Major Joseph Winston," by G. T. Winston (Guilford Battleground Company, 1895).

Revolution will animate the Soldier of the existing War and nerve his arm in laudable emulation to like achievements.

I beg you to accept an assurance of the great consideration and respect with which,

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your obedient Servent

WILLIAM HAWKINS.<sup>42</sup>

This recognition on the part of North Carolina, fitly enough, came with dramatic emphasis at a moment of crisis in the career of Governor Shelby and of the State of Kentucky. In his memorable oration, delivered at Lexington, Kentucky, on August 15, 1826, the Hon. William Taylor Barry thus described the event:

Colonel Shelby was at his residence in Lincoln County, enjoying in affluence, the sweets of domestic life, when he was again called upon to assume the helm of State. At the advanced age of 63, had he wanted an apology, this was an ample one; but his mind was characterized by constancy and invincible firmness. He saw his beloved country, for whose independence he had fought in his youth, again in imminent danger, assailed by the same inveterate foe. The fire of patriotism rekindled in his bosom, he did not hesitate, but abandoning the allurements of ease, and listening only to the voice of honor, we see him again with youthful ardour, entering upon the executive duties, boldly hazarding his reputation in the contingencies of a war, the glorious results of which were yet in the womb of time. The volunteers from Kentucky who had gone forth to battle, notwithstanding the bravery and good conduct of their officers, had met with sad reverses. The dreadful defeats at the River Raisin, and the Rapids of the Miami, had deprived our State of many gallant and patriotic citizens, and filled the country with mourning; the cruelties practised by the savage allies of England, and countenanced by the British officers, was the cause of deep and powerful excitement; the public indignation was aroused and our militia, anxious to revenge their slaughtered countrymen, were impatient to be led to battle. Shelby thought the time had arrived to put an end to the contest in that quarter, and resolved to take the field in person. As he was preparing for the campaign, a happy incident occurred. The delivery of the sword voted him by the Legislature of North Carolina in 1781, had, from some cause, been delayed, and was handed to him

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<sup>42</sup>From the Letter Book of Governor William Hawkins, 1812-1813, pp. 291-2. Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission. For a copy of this letter I am indebted to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the N. C. Historical Commission. The letter to General Sevier, the duplicate of the present letter, is printed in Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, 249.

just in time to be used in acquiring fresh laurels. Proud emblem of victory—glorious remembrancer of the gallantry and heroism of two wars.<sup>43</sup>

In the march to Lake Erie and Canada, the famous hero of the Revolution not without deep emotions of pride and religious fervor, "wore upon his thigh a sword just presented to him by Henry Clay, in the name of the State of North Carolina, in testimony of appreciation of his services in the old war for independence."<sup>44</sup>

With the sword was tendered the following letter to Shelby from Henry Clay:

Lexington, 22d August, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have seen by the public prints that you intend leading a detachment from this state. As you will want a sword, I have the pleasure to inform you that I am charged by Governor Turner and Mr. Macon with delivering to you that which the State of North Carolina voted you in testimony of the sense it entertained of your conduct at King's Mountain. I would take it with me to Frankfort, in order that I might personally execute the commission and at the same time have the gratification of seeing you, if I were not excessively oppressed with fatigue. I shall not fail, however, to avail myself of the first safe conveyance, and if any should offer to you, I will thank you to inform me. May it acquire additional lustre in the patriotic and hazardous enterprise in which you are embarking!

Your friend,

H. CLAY.

The bearer of the letter and the sword was a common friend, William T. Barry, quoted above, who delivered them to Governor Shelby at Frankfort.

The venerable soldier, with his characteristic energy once again taking the field in defense of the liberties of his country, in acknowledgment of the gift of North Carolina wrote the following interesting letter, hitherto unpublished, to the Governor of North Carolina.

<sup>43</sup>"On the Death of Adams, Jefferson and Shelby," in *Year Book, 1913, of Kentucky Society Sons of the Revolution*. Barry had been Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to General Shelby on the expedition to Canada in 1813; and afterwards became very distinguished in the public life of Kentucky. At one time he was Postmaster General in President Jackson's cabinet.

<sup>44</sup>B. J. Lossing: *Field Book of the War of 1812*, 544-5.

Government House Frankfort Kentucky.

August 26th, 1813.

SIR, On the 23d inst. I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 17th ulto. tendering to me, a Sword which accompanied it, bestowed by North Carolina as a testimony of the flattering sentiments which she entertained in relation to my conduct in the affair of the 7th of October 1780 on King's Mountain.

Engaged as my beloved country then was in a struggle for every thing dear to man, she had a right to expect the zealous exertions of her citizens in her behalf. Devoted to the cause of my country, impelled by a high sense of the obligations, I owed her, and by an utter aversion to the tyranny which was endeavouring to oppress her, I freely participated in those exertions which lead to, & that conflict which terminated so favorable to our arms, & evidently gave a favorable turn to the Revolutionary War, and in relation to which the Legislature of North Carolina have been pleased to express themselves in a manner the most flattering to my feelings.

If the freeborn sons of America wanted any stimulus to draw them forth in defence of her rights, other than a conviction that upon their exertions depended the continuance of those rights—it might be found in the heartfelt satisfaction derived from the consolation of having meritted and received the applause of a grateful [country] for the toils and dangers encountered in her behalf.

Having lived ten years of the happiest part of my life in North Carolina and having received repeated marks of the partiality of my fellow citizens in that Government during my residence amongst them, I have ever entertained the warmest feelings of fraternal affection, and good will for them. And I now accept with veneration & respect this honorable pledge of a continuance of their affection.

With considerations of high respect and Esteem

I have the honor to be

Most respectfully

Your Ob Servant

ISAAC SHELBY.

His Excellency

WILLIAM HAWKINS

Governor of North Carolina.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>From the Letter Book of Governor William Hawkins, 1812-3, pp. 414-5. Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission. For this copy I am indebted to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the N. C. Historical Commission.

## IX

The battle of King's Mountain was decisive in its effect—shattering the plans of Cornwallis which till then appeared certain of success, and putting a full stop to the invasion of North Carolina, then well under way. Cornwallis abandoned his prepared campaign and left the State. The initiative of the borderers, the loyalty of the militia, the energy of the pursuit, the perfection of the surprise, all reinforced by ideal tactics to meet the given situation, were the controlling factors in this overwhelming victory, and pivotal contest of the Revolution. The pioneers of the Old Southwest—the independent and aggressive yeomanry of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina—had risen in their might; and without the authority of blundering State governments, had created an army of frontiersmen, Indian fighters, and big game hunters which found no parallel or equal on the continent since the battle of the Great Kanawha.\*

The survey of the situation as given by Shelby is interesting as coming from a participant in the events:

This battle happened at the most gloomy and critical period of the Revolutionary War, and was the first link in the great chain of events in the South that established the independence of the United States. It was achieved by raw and undisciplined riflemen without any authority from the Government under which they lived. It completely dispirited the Tories and so much alarmed Lord Cornwallis, who then lay at Charlottstown with the British grand army that on being informed of Ferguson's total defeat and overthrow by the riflemen from the west, and that they were bearing down upon him, three thousand strong, he ordered an immediate retreat, marched all night in the utmost confusion and retrograded as far back as Winnsborough seventy or eighty miles, from whence he did not attempt to advance until reinforced by General Leslie from the Chesapeake with 2,000 men, three months afterward. In the meantime the militia of North Carolina assembled in considerable force at New Providence on the borders of South Carolina under General Davidson. General Smallwood with General Morgan's light corps, and the Maryland line

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\*Narratives of the King's Mountain campaign, which have proved of value in this research, are the accounts of General Joseph Graham (*Southern Literary Messenger*, September 1845), General William Lenoir (*Wheeler's Sketches of North Carolina*, ii, 105-108) and Captain David Vance (Greensboro, N. C., edited by D. L. Schenck, 1891).



advanced to the same point. General Gates with the shattered remains of his army collected at Hillsborough also came up and the new levies (?) from Virginia under General Stephens of 1,000 men came forward. At the same time, (to wit) the second or third of December, General Green came up and took the command, and thus was dispelled the dismal gloom which had pervaded the Southern States.

Following the battle of King's Mountain, the patriot force hanged nine Tory prisoners. This act has been severely condemned; but it is scarcely to be doubted that nothing short of such drastic action would have had a decisively deterrent effect upon future Tory murderings and depredations. Shelby's own account of this seemingly inexcusable and ruthless act is quoted here, both as a picture of the times and as a recital of Shelby's own part in the matter:

The prisoners were marched back on the trail that the army had advanced upon, as well to join the men who were left behind with weak horses and on foot, as to avoid Lord Cornwallis who they believed to be only thirty or forty miles to the North (incoherent) after meeting the footmen and took a circuitous route towards the Mountains by Gilbert town, where we met an American officer paroled from Ninety six only the day before, who informed, that he had seen eleven American citizens hung at that place within a few days past, merely for their attachment to the cause of their country. This very much exasperated the American officers, at the same time a Representative from Assembly which just set at Hillsborough came into camp and had with him the manuscript of a law, authorizing two justices within the State of North Carolina, to cause to be apprehended any citizen or loyalist who might be found in arms against his country, and if found guilty of treason to order him to immediate execution without any pleading in the case. The army with the prisoners were by this time in Rutherford County in North Carolina, a Sheriff of which, as well as several Justices of the Peace of the said County, were also in camp. Our Commander called a Council of officers to deliberate on the subject, who determined unanimously to try several of the prisoners under the aforesaid act of Assembly. The 8th day after the action they commenced trying them early in the morning beginning with the most atrocious offender first who had committed murder deliberately in cold blood, and who had otherwise murdered and destroyed the families of the Whigs, burned down houses, etc., and committed the most atrocious crimes. They continued to try them until they had condemned 36 to be hung, and at two o'clock in the night following commenced hanging them, after they

had hung nine of them, three at a time, and the fourth parcel of them was just about to be turned off the scaffold it was agreed on by Sevier, Cleveland and Shelby upon a motion of the latter, that they would put a stop to any further execution, and addressed Campbell on the subject, who readily came into their views, and released the three men that were then under the gallows to be executed, one of whom informed that Tarlton would be upon us next morning, that a woman had come into camp in the evening, and gave the information to the British officers, who communicated it to the Tories. The Americans immediately all mounted their horses, and were ready to march as soon as it was light enough to see for the night was excessively dark; as soon as they could see the way they started directly toward the mountains, got into level valley that lead immediately toward the North. We had not marched a mile before DePeyster rode up to Col. Shelby and enquired "which way was that they were going," to which the Col. replied, that they were going up into their native element, the mountains. When DePeyster cried out, "you smell a rat," Shelby replied that they knew all about it. It commenced raining just after daylight, and was I believe, the wettest day I have even seen since; so heavy was the rain that many parts of the valley became waist deep. The Americans continued their march until two o'clock that night, although it was dark as pitch, and the road could be seen by the continued flashes of lightning, when they came to the Catawba River which they supposed to be rising very fast from the quantity of rain that had fallen. The prisoners were forced into the water in a column of six deep as they usually marched, and ordered to hold fast to each other as the current was very strong. Our march that day and night was 36 miles and the river next morning had risen 10 feet. This escape excited feelings of the deepest gratitude in the breasts of the Americans, after they had reached a place of safety. It was a well known fact to all men who lived in that day, that the execution of these nine prisoners, put a stop to the hanging of any more American citizens at Camden and Ninety-six, where several hundred persons had been previously executed at those two places, purely for their attachment to the American cause. The prisoners taken at King's Mountain were given up by the Mountaineers to the militia assembled at Moravian Town to receive them, and afterwards marched to Salisbury where they were crowded into the jail and other houses prepared to receive them.

No account with any pretensions, either to accuracy or consecutiveness, has ever been given of the relation of Shelby, Sevier and the western leaders, to the cause of the Revolution subsequent to the Battle of King's Mountain. The histories teem with inaccuracies and inexplicable confusions of

names and dates. The recent discovery of letters and documents, bearing on this period, make it possible for me to give for the first time, I believe, a reliable and consistent account of the rôle played by Shelby and some of the other frontier leaders in the closing years of the Revolution.

There is an interesting revelation of vanity in Shelby's *Autobiography*, in which he claims the credit, usually ascribed to General Nathaniel Greene, for the plan of campaign which eventuated in Morgan's defeat of Tarleton. This passage gives us an account also of Shelby's movements, following the delivery of the prisoners taken at King's Mountain to the authorities at Salem:

When the British had gotten possession of the posts of Ninety Six and Augusta, they had an open communication with the Southern Indians, and furnished them with arms and ammunition by which means the Cherokees were enabled to wage a constant war against the new settlements forming on the western waters of North Carolina. Col. Shelby had long viewed this evil without being able to devise any means to prevent it. But after the prisoners taken at King's Mountain were disposed of at Moravian town, he set out from there to go to Headquarters, to solicit the Commander-in-Chief to send Gen. Morgan with his light troops into the upper country, to subdue those two posts. He knew from his own knowledge that Morgan would be strongly reinforced by the mountain men, and many others who had left their homes in the upper parts of Georgia and South Carolina rather than submit to the enemy. He found headquarters at a place called New Providence on the border of South Carolina, and under the command of Maj. Gen. Smallwood. He first communicated the object of his visit to camp to Gen. Morgan who seemed highly pleased and gratified at the suggestions made to him, readily entered into his views, saw at once the probable chance of success and said it was just what he had wanted, a separate command. He also made these suggestions to Gen. Smallwood, thinking he might possibly order Morgan on but although he highly approved the measure, he would not take upon himself the responsibility, as Gen. Gates would be in himself in a few days, and advised him to wait his arrival. He waited in camp upwards of a fortnight, when it was announced that Gen. Gates was near at hand. He set out next morning with six or eight officers to go to him and meet him about seven miles from camp with the remains of his army collected at Hillsborough. On Gates' arrival at camp he invited Shelby to dine with him the next day. He was proud to have an opportunity to make his communications, and went before the usual hour.

Gen. Gates gave him a cordial reception and invited him in. Col. Shelby replied that he had some important communications to make to him, that he had come early for that purpose, and would be glad if he would afford him an opportunity to do so. Gates pointing to a log a few rods from his door proposed to sit down on it. Before he heard all that Shelby had to say, he saw the practicability and importance of the measure proposed and observed, that if the board of war of North Carolina then sitting at Charlottstown would aid him with five hundred militia, he would send Morgan up with his light corps immediately. Gen. Gates was accordingly on horseback next morning before sunrise, and as he passed with his guards by Davidson's marked where Shelby lodged; he joined him, and they arrived early at Charlotte. Gates opened the subject to the board of war—which consisted of Alexander Martin alone (who was then or shortly after Governor of the State) who very soon saw the propriety of the measure and requested Shelby to stay until next morning, and take some communications to the Northern counties of the State, which was on his way home where the men must be raised, which he did; for the counties around Charlotte had been drained to form the camp at New Providence which then opposed the enemy. Col. Shelby set out the next morning, from Charlotte, which was about the 2d or 3d of December, 1780, and met Gen. Green about three miles from town, going forward to take command of the Southern army. Shelby had no idea that Tarlton, or any force would be sent up to oppose Morgan in that distant upper county, he only contemplated the reduction of the two posts, Ninety Six and Augusta. And if Gen. Green is entitled to any credit for the defeat of Tarlton by Morgan, it is merely that he permitted the enterprise to go on which led to that event, and which had been planned and ordered by Gen. Gates (on the suggestion of Shelby before he was superseded, and before Green took the command) Col. Shelby was at a loss to determine why so much time had elapsed from Green's taking the command on the 17th of January unless it was owing to the tardiness of the militia orders by the board of war as before stated, to John Morgan, or to the scarcity of provisions. For he can say of his own knowledge that there was never more than two days provisions at any one time while he stayed in the camp near three weeks; the country at that time being drained of supplies.

## X

The value which was universally set upon the services of the over-mountain men and their leaders, Shelby and Sevier, following the overwhelming victory of King's Mountain is fully attested in documents of the period. The following



letter, taken in conjunction with the above-quoted passage from Shelby's *Autobiography*, is significant:

Camp New Providence, 23d November, 1780.

Sir: Colo. Shelby have been in camp for some time, waiting to lend his Aid, should anything go on offensive, but apprehending not much will be done this winter. And his domestick business call for him, and he having no command, is now on his way home. I have been speaking to him to raise about three hundred good rifle men this winter for the campaign. & join me early in the spring. He says he would willingly undertake it, provided he had a sanction for it. How far the Assembly of North Carolina would be disposed to countenance such a thing I don't know, but I assure you that a Number of such men would be a valuable Corps when annex'd to the Light Infantry, which must be made equal if not superior to Tarlton's Legion before this country can be defended. If you think proper to countenance a matter of this kind, you'll be kind enough to signify your approbation to Colo. Shelby and point out the mode.

I have the Honor to be, with much

Esteem, your obedt. servt.

DANL. MORGAN.

The Honble. M. Genl. Gates.

The greatest contemporary tribute to the leaders of the King's Mountain campaign, showing the high estimation in which their services were held and the need generally felt for the assistance to the American cause they could render, is found in the following action taken by the North Carolina Assembly at Halifax on February 13, 1781:

*Resolved*, That Colonel Isaac Shelby of Sullivan County and John Sevier, Esqr., of Washington County, be informed by this Resolve being communicated to them that the General Assembly of this State are feelingly impressed with the very generous and patriotic services rendered by the Inhabitants of the said Counties, to which their influence had in great degree contributed and earnestly urge that they would press a continuance of the same active exertion; that the State of the Country is such as to call forth the utmost powers immediately in order to preserve its freedom and Independence, and that we may by the assistance of our friends in Virginia, as they have occasionally by us, as emergencies induced them, availed of it, we suggest our wishes that Colonel Arthur Campbell and Colonel William Preston of Virginia, thro' the Gentlemen mentioned, may be informed that their spirited conduct heretofore in favor of the



Southern States affords us the most perfect assurance that they will make every active and effectual exertion at the present critical moment in favor of this State.

At this same time, Ex-Governor Richard Caswell, an intimate acquaintance of Isaac Shelby, "depicted to him the melancholy circumstances of his own State. The Tories were in motion all over North Carolina, and their footsteps were marked with blood, and their path was indicated by the most desolating devastations. Governor Caswell conjured him to turn to the relief of his distressed country."<sup>46</sup> The Continental Congress, through their laudatory resolution of November 15, 1780, and the general officers of the American army, including Gates, Greene and Morgan, having ascertained the military value of the fighting frontiersmen, the inevitable result was that General Greene, on January 30, 1781, wrote to "the famous Colonel William Campbell," reminding him of the glory he had already acquired, and urging him "to bring, without loss of time, a thousand good volunteers from over the mountains."<sup>47</sup> The difficulties which the frontiersmen were experiencing with the Indians at this period, in a succession of campaigns, put out of the question the sending of any large force to assist Greene in his North Carolina campaign. No sooner had Sevier returned from the King's Mountain campaign than he was called upon to lead three hundred horsemen from Watauga, in conjunction with three hundred from Sullivan County, and one hundred from Washington County, Virginia—the whole under the command of Colonel Arthur Campbell, County-Lieutenant of Washington County, against the Cherokees. Upon the return of Colonel Campbell from this expedition, which was entirely successful, the first of January, 1781, he immediately communicated with General Nathaniel Greene, the Commander of the Southern Department, who accordingly, on February 6, 1781, appointed Arthur Campbell, William

<sup>46</sup>Haywood: *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*. In slavishly following Haywood, Ramsey (p. 251) falls into the error of stating that Caswell, instead of Abner Nash, was Governor of North Carolina in 1781.

<sup>47</sup>Draper: *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, 391; Summers: *South West Virginia*, 327-360 *passim*.

Preston, William Christian and Joseph Martin, of Virginia, and Robert Lanier, Evan Shelby, Joseph Williams and John Sevier, of North Carolina, commissioners to meet commissioners from the Cherokees to treat on the subject of boundaries, to arrange for an exchange of prisoners and terms of peace, and to invite the Indians to appoint a commission to visit Congress.<sup>48</sup>

The treaty was set for March 24, 1781, at the Long Island of Holston River. On that day Colonels Campbell, Martin, Shelby and Sevier assembled there, and sent off one of the Indians captured in the recent campaign to the Indian nation proposing peace and fixing June 10th following as the date for the conference. The date was again postponed until July 20, 1781.<sup>49</sup> Continued depredations by the hostile Indians earlier in the year seriously hampered the Tennessee and Virginia borderers at this time; and Col. John Sevier, suspecting that "the perpetrators of this mischief came from some hostile towns in the mountain gorges," had resolved to lead an expedition against them.

In March of this year Colonels John Sevier and Isaac Shelby undertook an expedition against the Chickamauga Indians, and to assist in this undertaking 200 of the militia of Washington county joined Colonel Isaac Shelby and marched to the Big Island in the French Broad River, where the troops were rendezvoused, from which point they marched for the sources of the Mobile River, and after the third day they crossed the Tennessee river at Scitico, at which point they held a council with the friendly Indians. On the 6th day they encamped on the Hiawassee river, and on the 7th day they crossed the river and passed into the territory of the hostile Indians, Colonel Sevier with his forces, marched immediately against Vann's Towns, which he reduced to ashes, and thence to Bull Town, at the head of Chickamogga Creek. After the destruction of this town they marched to the Coosa river, where they killed a white man by the name of Clements from whom it was ascertained that he was a sergeant in the British army, and it was believed that he instigated the Indians in their depredations against the frontiers. The army then proceeded to Spring Frog Town, thence up the Coosa river to Estanola and Indian Town which they destroyed. After thus destroying the

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<sup>48</sup>Weeks: *General Joseph Martin and the War of the Revolution in the West*, 429-433; Haywood: *Civil and Political History of Tennessee* (1823); Summers: *Southwest Virginia*, 348.

<sup>49</sup>*Calendar Virginia State Papers*, ii, 199.

Indian towns and killing all the Indian Warriors they could find, the troops returned to Chote, where a council was held with the friendly Indians, at the conclusion of which the troops were disbanded and returned to their homes.<sup>50</sup>

Although neither Shelby nor Sevier could lead a force of mountain men to the relief of Greene, Captain Charles Robertson raised a company of about one hundred and fifty volunteers and took a creditable part in the battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781.<sup>51</sup> With equal patriotism, Colonel William Campbell raised a company of one hundred men of the militia of Washington County, and on February 25, 1781, set out to join the militia of Botetourt and Montgomery counties, on their march to join General Greene's army. "A large number would have gone," says Arthur Campbell in a letter to Governor Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, of date February 28, 1781, "were it not for the daily apprehension of attacks from the northward and southern Indians." About March 3, Colonel Campbell with sixty followers in his immediate command, effected a junction with Greene's army; but the total number of the combined forces of William Campbell and William Preston, who reached Greene about the same time, was upwards of four hundred.<sup>52</sup> These forces fought with staunchness and bravery at Guilford Courthouse, fully justifying Greene's description of the "back country people" as "bold and daring in their make."<sup>53</sup>

## XI

Following the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, Greene devoted his attention to reducing the British posts in South

<sup>50</sup>This account is taken from Summer: *Southwest Virginia*, 360-1. Cf. also Ramsey: *Tennessee*, 268-9; Weeks: *Joseph Martin*, 432. In his Autobiography, Shelby makes no mention of having taken part in this expedition.

<sup>51</sup>Ramsey: *Annals of Tennessee*, 251; cf. monograph, *Major Charles Robertson, and Some of His Descendants*, by Mrs. Charles Fairfax Henley. Cf. also Schenck's *North Carolina*, 1780-1, 302.

<sup>52</sup>*Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 542; Johnson's *Greene*, i. 455. Draper is in error in giving the citation to Johnson, i. 438, in support of the statement that there were "four hundred mountaineers" under Campbell; the allusion is to the "400 regulars, under Colonel Richard Campbell," who had been organized and despatched to Greene's relief by the Baron Steuben. (Schenck's *North Carolina*: 1780-81, 272.)

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, 251-2, for comments upon the probable results of that battle, had Shelby and Sevier led the over-mountain men to Greene's assistance.

Carolina and Georgia. After the fall of Augusta, on June 25, only Ninety-six remained in British hands; but Greene was foiled in his attack upon that post on June 18 and 19. From the "Camp at Bush River, in the District of Ninety-six, June 22, 1781," Greene once more appealed for aid to the Watauga riflemen in a letter to Isaac Shelby, hitherto unpublished. In this important letter he says:

We have been upon the eve of reducing all the enemies interior posts in South Carolina and Georgia. Ninety-Six was the last and four days more would have completed its reduction, when, unfortunately, we were compelled to raise the siege, the enemy having been reinforced at Charlestown. Lord Rawdon marched out in force and is now in our neighborhood. To secure the advantages of our past success it is necessary we should drive the enemy into the lower country. To enable us to effect this I beg you to march to our assistance a thousand good riflemen, well armed and equipped fit for action. If you can join us in a few days with such a force you will render an important service to the public in general, to the State of South Carolina in particular, and lay me under very particular obligations. I feel myself deeply interested in this application.

At the time when this letter reached Shelby, the military leaders of Virginia and Tennessee were busily concerned in the negotiations for peace with the Cherokees. Isaac Shelby attended the treaty at the Long Island of Holston from July 20 to July 29, 1781. The despatches from the Commissioners to General Greene, reporting the results of this treaty, were entrusted to Shelby for delivery, as it was known that he had promised General Greene to raise a force and march to his aid. The following letter, hitherto unpublished in any history, exhibits in detail the efforts made by Shelby and Sevier to raise and to march a force to coöperate with Greene.

Camp on Wattauga Washington County

North Carolina 3d August 1781.

HOND. SIR: In answer to your request of the 22d June last I rote you by the Express, that I should March by the 15th July with what force cou'd be rais'd in this quarter, but the Cherokee Treaty not being over found it impracticable to draw any force from here untill that important Business (to this frontier) was finally ratified, which was done the 29th July, and immediately every step taken to rein-

force you; about 700 good riflemen well mounted were now in motion toward you & should have been down in as short a time as possible but an Express arrived in camp last night from General Pickens that informed us of the Enemys retreat to Orangeburg and perhaps to Charles Town, that distance being so very great for us, the warm season of the year & the men not prepared for so long a Tower, had induced Col. Severe of this county and myself from proceeding on our march, until one hear farther accounts from that quarter tho the men are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice, and as our country is now in a state of peace and tranquility, have no doubt but we can furnish you with a large proportion of good men from here whenever you may find necessary to require us.

I have the honour to be with. respect

Your Mo. Obt. Humble Servt.

Endorsed :

ISAAC SHELBY.<sup>54</sup>

From Colo. Shelby

Augt. 3d., 1781.

After Shelby and Sevier concluded not to march, Shelby returned the despatches for Greene, mentioned above, to the Commissioners who had negotiated the treaty with the Cherokees.<sup>55</sup> Greene had been greatly depressed by the failure of Shelby and Sevier to march their seven hundred riflemen to his assistance; and throughout July he was frequently heard to exclaim: "What can detain Shelby and Sevier?"<sup>56</sup> Writing to Colonel Lee from Camden on August 25, Greene despondently says: "We are thus far on our way to join Colonel Henderson, but the tardiness with which everybody moves who was expected to join us, almost makes me repent that I have put the troops in motion. Near two hundred of the North Carolina Regulars, who ought to have been here four days past, are not likely to be here for four or five to come. Colonel Shelby, I believe, had gone back, if he ever set out, which I much doubt. General Pickens had not been heard of, and I fear will not have it in his power to bring any con-

<sup>54</sup>Original MS. letter owned by Arthur M. Rutledge, of Louisville, Kentucky. Draper is in error in stating that Greene's letter to Shelby miscarried. (*King's Mountain and its Heroes*, 413) Johnson erroneously cites Sevier as the author of Shelby's letter above (*Greene*, ii, 210).

<sup>55</sup>*Shelby's Autobiography*. The details of the treaty, it seems, have never been published. G. W. Greene clearly is in error in giving the date of Shelby's letter to Greene as August 6 (*Life of Nathaniel Greene*, iii, 374n). Cf. also Johnson: *Greene*, ii, 184-5.

<sup>56</sup>Johnson's *Greene*, ii, 210.



siderable reinforcements; nor do I expect Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson will be able to do much more. The State troops I am told (are) all getting sickly, as is the North Carolina Regulars. Not more than one-half the militia from North Carolina are arrived, and the whole that are here don't exceed four hundred. You know I never despair, nor shrink at difficulties, but our prospects are not flattering."<sup>57</sup>

Greene continued to rely upon receiving reinforcements from Watauga; and after his victory at Eutaw Springs, he despatched to Shelby the following letter, which was to have momentous consequences. This letter was not received by Shelby before the last of September or first of October, as it "came through Virginia, was found in Henry County by a neighbor, and brought out at his leisure."

Head Quarters,  
High Hills of Santee  
Sept. 16, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

I have the pleasure to inform you that we had an action with the British Army on the 8th in which we were victorious. We took 500 prisoners and killed and wounded a much greater number. We also took near 1000 stand of arms, and have driven the enemy near to the gates of Charleston. I have also the pleasure to inform you that, a large French fleet of nearly thirty sail of the line, has arrived in the Chesapeake bay, with a considerable number of land forces; all of which are to be employed against Lord Cornwallis, who it is suspected will endeavor to make good his retreat through North Carolina to Charleston. To prevent which I beg you to bring out as many riflemen as you can, and as soon as possible. You will march them to Charlotte, and inform me the moment you set out, and of your arrival.

If we can intercept his lordship it will put a finishing stroke to the war in the Southern states.

Should I get any intelligence which may change the face of matters I will advise you. I am with esteem and regard, your most obedient & humble Servant,

NATH. GREEN.

Col. Shelby, back parts of North Carolina.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup>H. Lee: *Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas* (1824), 455-6.

<sup>58</sup>Letter of Isaac Shelby to C. S. Todd, June 28, 1822. This letter was first given publicity by Shelby in his *Memoir* because of the unwarranted charge brought by Judge Johnson in his biography of Greene (ii, 258) against Sevier and Shelby for having "deserted" Greene.

Upon the receipt of this letter, Shelby immediately communicated its contents by express to Sevier, who lived fifty miles away, and proposed a rendezvous of their men early in October. In making the enlistments, Shelby assured the volunteers that they should not be absent from their families for more than sixty days.

I made great exertions, and collected the men in a few days thereafter, many of them had not received more than 24 hours notice and lived more than 100 miles from the place of rendezvous—but were willing to go as the call was made for a special purpose—to wit, to intercept Lord Cornwallis who it was suspected would endeavor to make good his retreat through N. Carolina to Charleston and Gen. Green thought and so did I that if we could intercept him, it would put an end to the war in the S. states. To effect this important object, the people on the western waters were induced to volunteer their services—it was for this purpose that they were prevailed upon to leave their homes 500 miles from the scene of operations to defend a Maritime district of country surrounded with a dense population and in comparative quiet, while their own firesides were daily menaced by the Chicamauga Indians, who as you know had declared perpetual war against the whites and could never be induced to make peace. I was far advanced on my road when I received vague information of the surrender of Cornwallis in Virginia and hesitated whether to proceed. But as the men appeared to be willing to serve out a tour of duty which at the time of their entering the service I repeatedly assured them should not exceed 60 days absence from their homes, I proceeded on more leisurely to Green, who observed to me that such a body of horse could not remain in the vicinity of his camp on account of the scarcity of forage and requested me to serve out the tour with Marion, to which I consented, however, with some reluctance as the men would be drawn 70 or 80 miles further from their homes.<sup>59</sup>

Shelby quickly raised upwards of five hundred mounted riflemen; and Sevier with equal despatch raised two hundred mounted riflemen in Washington County. These two bodies, totalling some seven hundred, joined Marion at his camp on the Santee. The hint was given to Marion that “if he would keep them he must keep them busy.”<sup>60</sup>

It was with considerable reluctance that Shelby and Sevier

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<sup>59</sup>Shelby's *Autobiography*.

<sup>60</sup>Greene Mss., cited in Greene's *Greene*, iii, 419.

consented to being attached to Marion's command. "Their men were called out upon a pressing emergency which no longer existed. They had been, moreover, enrolled only sixty days. Much of that time had already expired, and the contemplated service under Marion would take them still further from their distant homes. Besides Shelby was a member of the General Assembly of North Carolina, from Sullivan County, and its session at Salem took place early in December."<sup>61</sup>

Almost at once they were engaged in very active service. The account of the ensuing events is contained in Shelby's *Autobiography*, here reproduced as written:

The enemies main Southern army, it was said, lay at that time near a place called Fergusson's Swamp on the great road bearing directly to Charleston. Gen'l Marion received information several weeks after our arrival at his camp that several hundred Hessians at a British Post near Monk's Corner, eight or ten miles below the enemies main army were in a state of mutiny, and would surrender the post to any considerable American force that might appear before it; and consulted his principal officers on the propriety of surprising it, which was soon determined on, and Shelby and Sevier solicited a command in it. Marion accordingly moved down eight or ten miles, and crossed over to the South side of the Santee River, from whence he made a detachment of five or six hundred men to surprise the post, the command of which was given to Colonel Mayhem. The detachment consisted of Shelby's mounted riflemen with Mayhem's Dragoons, about one hundred and eighty, and about twenty or thirty lowland mounted militia, the command of the whole was given to Colonel Mayhem. They took up their march early in the morning, and traveled fast through the woods until late in the evening of the second day, when they struck the great road leading to Charleston, about two miles below the enemy's post, which they intended to surprise. They lay upon their arms all night across the road with a design to intercept the Hessians in case the enemy had got notice of our approach and had ordered them down to Charleston before morning. In the course of the night which was as dark as pitch an orderly Sergeant rode into the line amongst us, and was taken prisoner. No material papers were found upon him before he made his escape except a pocket book which contained the strength of the enemy's main army and their number then on the sick list, which was very great.

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<sup>61</sup>Ramsey: *Annals of Tennessee*, 254.

As soon as daylight appeared, we advanced to the British Post, and arrived there before sunrise. Col. Mayhem sent in one of his confidential officers with peremptory demand for a surrender of the garrison, who in a few minutes returned and reported that the officer commanding was determined to defend the post to the last extremity. Col. Shelby then proposed that he would go in himself and make another effort to obtain a surrender, which Mayhem readily consented to. Upon his approach he discovered a gap in the Abbatis, through which he rode up close to the building, when an officer opened one leaf of a long folding door. Col. Shelby addressed him in these words, "Will you be so mad as to suffer us to storm your works, if you do rest assured that every soul of you will be put to the sword, for there was several hundred men at hand that would soon be in with their tomahawks upon them"; he then inquired if they had any artillery. Shelby replied, "that they had guns that would blow them to pieces in a minute." Upon which the officer replied, "I suppose I must give up." Mayhem seeing the door thrown wide open, and Shelby ascend the high steps to the door, immediately advanced with his dragoons, and formed on the right. It was not until this moment we discovered another strong British Fort that stood five or six hundred yards to the East, and this is the first knowledge we had of that post, the garrison of which immediately marched out, about one hundred infantry and forty or fifty cavalry came around the North Angle of the fort all apparently with a design to attack us; they however soon halted as we stood firm and prepared to meet them. We took a hundred and fifty prisoners, all of them able to have fought from the windows of the house, or from behind Abbatis. Ninety of them were able to stand a march to Marion's camp that day which was near sixty miles; and we paroled the remainder most of whom appeared to have been sick, and unable to stand so hard a march. Information soon reached Marion's camp that the post had been burnt down immediately on our leaving it; but it was always the opinion of Col. Shelby that the enemy had abandoned it, and burnt it themselves, for Mayhem and Shelby were the two last men that left the place, and at that time there was not the least sign of fire or smoke about it. This it is most probable they would do, as they had previously destroyed, and burned down almost every building in that part of the country. This post was an immense brick building, calculated to hold a thousand men, and said to have been built by Sir John Gollitin a century before that period as well for defense as comfort; and was well enclosed by a strong abbaties. In it were found, besides the prisoners three or four hundred stand of arms, and as many new blankets. The American detachment left this post between nine and ten o'clock of the same day, and arrived at Marion's camp the night following at three o'clock. Gen. Stewart who commanded the Enemy's main army, eight or ten miles above made great



efforts to intercept us on our return. And it was announced to Marion before sunrise next morning that the whole British army was in the old field about three miles off at the outer end of the causeway that led into his camp. Shelby was immediately ordered out with the mountain men to meet him at the edge of the swamp, to attack the enemy if he attempted to advance and retreat at his own discretion, to where Marion would have his whole force drawn up to sustain him at an old field. Shortly after his arrival at the edge of the open plain, he observed two British officers ride up to a house equidistant between the lines, after they retired he rode to the house to know what inquiries they had made; a man told him that they had asked him when the Americans detachment had got in, what was their force, and of what troops it was composed; he replied that the detachment had come in just before day, that he had supposed as they went out they were six or eight hundred strong; and were composed chiefly of Shelby's and Sevier's mounted men, with Mayhem's Dragoons. The enemy then being in the edge of the woods, silently withdrew out of sight, and retreated back in the utmost disorder and confusion. A small party sent out to reconnoiter the enemy, reported that many of them had thrown away their knapsacks, guns and canteens. A few days afterwards Gen'l. Marion received intelligence that the British commander had retreated with his whole force to Charleston. Marion's sole design in moving from the camp when the mountain men first joined him, and crossing the Santee River below, was to get within striking distance of the before mentioned post, to make the said detachment, and be able to protect and support them on their retreat if hard pushed by the enemy. After this the enemy kept so within their lines that little or no blood was spilt, and all active movements appearing to be at an end, Shelby made application to Gen'l Marion for leave of absence to go to the Assembly of North Carolina, of which he was a member, and which was to meet about that time at Salem, and where he had private business of his own of the first importance. The mountain men had then but a day or two to stay, to complete their tour of duty, of sixty days, and he verily believes that they did serve it out, as he never heard to the contrary.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>In a conversation with C. S. Todd, May 16, 1826, Shelby said concerning the affair at Monk's Corner:

"When we arrived on parade with the detachment against the British post near Monk's Corner, I did not know who was to command but I expected I was—as I had been informed that Marion was only a Lt.-Col. When I understood the command had been assigned to Marion I made objections and refused to march, as I was the superior officer. The detachment stood still until Marion himself came from a distance of one-half mile who entreated me in the most friendly language to yield to the arrangement he had made. That Marion was well acquainted with the country through which we were to pass and with the immediate neighborhood of the post we were to attack. I submitted to his request because I was to stay but a short time in camp and I thought Marion to be much of a gentleman and so he treated me. Indeed, throughout the expedition he gave me no orders but consulted me on all occasions. These mountaineers were poor men who lived by keeping stock in the range beyond the mountains, they were volunteers and neither expected nor received any compensation



## XII

On November 25, having virtually filled out their term of enlistment, the mountaineers set off homeward in a deep snow. About November 28th, Shelby applied to Marion for leave of absence to attend the session of the Assembly of North Carolina, which was to meet at the Moravian Town (Salem). Shelby had been elected a member of the legislature from Sullivan County and was charged with a "Memorial to be laid before that body in relation to a subject of deep importance." According to Shelby's own statement, General Marion "readily granted my request and addressed a letter by me to General Green which I was permitted to see directed to him at the High Hills of Santee where he expected General Green was still encamped. In this letter I have a distinct recollection that he spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the mountaineers and gave me my full share of the credit for the capture of the British Post."<sup>63</sup>

Shelby attended the North Carolina Assembly at Salem in December, 1781, which adjourned without action. On returning to Holston, as stated by Draper, Shelby "was engaged during the spring in preparing for an expedition against the Chickamauga band of Cherokees, and the hostile Creeks at the sources of the Mobile, in which enterprise he was to have been joined by two hundred men from Washington County, Virginia; but on account of the poverty of that State, the authorities discouraged the scheme, and reaching Big Creek, thirty miles below Long Island of Holston, the expedition was relinquished."<sup>64</sup> Having again been elected a member of the North Carolina Assembly, Shelby attended the session at

<sup>63</sup>Shelby's statements effectually dispose of Judge Johnson's malicious charges (*Greene*, ii, 258ff), repeated by G. W. Greene (*Greene*, iii, 419). The whole matter has been thoroughly traversed by Ramsey in his *Annals of Tennessee* (1853 edn.) 253-261ff.

<sup>64</sup>In this connection, cf. *N. C. State Records*, xvi, 696-7-8, for plans for the expedition.

except liquidated certificates worth 2S. in the pound. Gen. Greene had no right nor ought to have expected to command their services. For myself for the whole services of 1780 and 1781 both in camp and in the assembly I received a liquidation certificate which my agent in that county after my removal to Kentucky sold for six yards of Middling Broadcloth and I gave one coat of it to the person who brought it out to me—indeed I was proud of receiving that."

Hillsborough in April, 1782.<sup>65</sup> At this session he took an active part in the proceedings, and was engaged busily on important committees. At this session was passed the liberal "Act for the relief of the Officers and Soldiers in the Continental line, etc.," rewarding the revolutionary soldiers for their patriotic services—to every soldier who should continue in the ranks until the end of the war 640 acres of land; to every officer a larger quantity according to his rank, a colonel receiving 7,200 and a brigadier 12,000 acres; and to General Greene 25,000 acres. Section VIII of this act reads as follows:

*And be it further enacted, That Absalom Tatom, Isaac Shelby, and Anthony Bledsoe, Esquires, or any two of them, are appointed commissioners in behalf of the State, to examine and superintend the laying off the land in one or more tracts allotted to the officers and soldiers, and they shall be accompanied by one or more agents, whom the officers may appoint, to assist in the business; and in case any commissioner so appointed shall die, or refuse to act his Excellency the Governor shall fill up the vacancy.*<sup>66</sup>

Full instructions were given the commissioners by Governor Alexander Martin,<sup>67</sup> and, accompanied by a guard of one hundred men, they arrived at Nashborough and the Cumberland in January, 1783. Under the provisions of the act above, the commissioners were instructed to settle the pre-emption claims of those who had settled on the Cumberland River prior to June 1, 1780. Under conditions of grave danger from the Indians, who killed various members of the Cumberland settlements, including one of their own party, the commissioners satisfactorily concluded their task in the early spring of 1783.<sup>68</sup> Their visit marks the beginning of prosperity and moderate security from the Indians, for the exposed settlements along the Cumberland.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. *N. C. State Records*, xvi, 68, 101, 109, 128, *passim*. For a long and laborious, yet imperfect sketch of Isaac Shelby, compare *National Portrait Gallery*, i (1834). This sketch, by his son-in-law, Charles Stewart Todd, once Minister to Russia, is reproduced, with a number of alterations, in G. W. Griffin's *Memoir of Col. Chas. S. Todd* (1873), 157-174.

<sup>66</sup>*State Records of N. C.*, xxiv, 421.

<sup>67</sup>*N. C. State Records*, xvi, 713; Martin to the Commissioners.

<sup>68</sup>Putnam: *History of Middle Tennessee*, 162-3, 172, 177, contains a description of the work of the commissioners.

On January 13, 1783, Isaac Shelby, Joseph Martin, and John Donelson were appointed commissioners on behalf of the State of Virginia to treat with the Cherokees, Creeks and Chickasaws for peace. Shelby did not attend the treaties subsequently held with the Chickamaugas at the Long Island of Holston on July 9, 1783; and with the Chickasaws at the French Lick on November 5 and 6, 1783.<sup>69</sup>

In fact, more important business now occupied his attention; for in April he was married to the young woman whom he had long loved—Susanna Hart. She was the daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Hart of North Carolina, a prominent member of the Transylvania Company. Isaac Shelby courted his sweetheart at the famous fort of Boonesborough, in the neighborhood of which her father had been slain by the Indians the preceding year.<sup>70</sup> No doubt he wore at the time that memorable “suit of middling broadcloth,” which was his recompense for his service to his country in the King’s Mountain campaign. In the union of the names of Hart and Shelby, and in the associations which cluster about them, may be recognized a living symbol of the greatness of Kentucky for more than a century and a quarter.

The marriage, appropriately solemnized as the Révolution came to a triumphant close, marks the end of the era. Of Shelby’s future career—as first Governor of the Commonwealth, general, eminent citizen—a new study must be projected.<sup>71</sup> A fitting summary of the virtues of this distinguished American, whose honored name is forever linked with the history of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and the nation, is contained in these words of Governor James T. Morehead, in his address at Boonesborough (May 25, 1840):

“Great men,” said Mr. Burke, “are the guide posts and landmarks in the State.” The life of Isaac Shelby is a signal example of un-

<sup>69</sup>Weeks: *Joseph Martin*, 435-6.

<sup>70</sup>Cf. Mrs. Ellet’s *Pioneer Women of the West*, 19-22, in sketch of Mary Bledsoe; Address of George Blackburn Kinkead, delivered at Boonsborough Fort, Oct. 5, 1907; Taylor’s *Historic Sullivan*, 36-7.

<sup>71</sup>In this connection compare the address of Mrs. Mary Shelby Wilson at the unveiling and presentation to Memorial Continental Hall of the marble bust of Isaac Shelby, April 19, 1811.

blemished personal integrity and enlarged public usefulness, which may be safely imitated by all those who aspire to become benefactors of their country. Starting into active life without the aid of fortune or education, he pursued the gradations of military rank from the lieutenancy of a militia company to the command of a regiment—he rose from the humble station of a surveyor among the pioneers to the governorship of a great Commonwealth—and was distinguished in all the posts to which he was called. His mind like his body was strong and vigorous: boldness, energy, decision, were its leading characteristics. Capable of thinking for himself, he investigated every important subject that came within the range of his private or public duties, with candor and deliberation; and having formed his opinions, he followed them with unshaken firmness. He spoke and wrote as he thought—with great force and vigor—always expressing his opinions with manly frankness, and a lofty disdain of personal consequences. His manners—derived from the school in which he was brought up—were plain and simple, and commanded, without any affectation of dignity, the universal deference of his associates. He was sincere but not profuse in his professions of attachment—faithful and steadfast to his friends when those attachments were once formed. Elevating himself in the discharge of his official duties above the influence of private considerations, he sought and rewarded merit for his country's sake. If such was his character as a public man, he maintained all the relations of life with equal credit and success.)

## APPENDIX

The present research, dealing with the career of Isaac Shelby down to the close of the Revolution, is a fragment of a larger study, a detailed biography. In the preparation of these two papers, I have been materially assisted by my friend, Judge Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Kentucky. He has placed at my disposal original and unpublished material, as well as interesting contributions to the history of Kentucky and the West which have remained hidden in inaccessible publications. I am also indebted to Mr. William R. Shelby of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and to Colonel Samuel King of Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia, for transcripts of valuable documents throwing light upon Shelby's career.

There are a few statements to be made here, which are the results of more intensive study and purport either to correct or to modify statements already made.

In regard to the parents of General Evan Shelby, to wit: Evan Shelby, Sr., and Catherine Davies, it is certain that they were natives of Wales, with a large percentage of Welsh blood. Evan and Davies are characteristic Welsh names. Those best informed in regard to the family's early history, however, believe that the name was originally Selby, and that the Shelbys were of English extraction.

The records at Upper Marlboro, the county seat of Prince George's County, Maryland, reveal many transactions in which the Shelbys figure as residents of said county prior to the creation of Frederick County (not carved out of Prince George's County until 1748). It is probable that the immigrant ancestors of the Shelby family settled in Maryland nearer 1730 than 1735. Ultimately, by the formation of Washington County, the residence of Evan Shelby, near the North Mountain, was found to be in Washington County. (See Part I, 109-110.)

The earliest surveys and grants to Evan Shelby, Senior and Junior, make it reasonably certain that the Shelbys resided continuously in Maryland from 1739 or earlier to 1771 or 1772. In particular, see Scharf's *History of Western Maryland*, ii, 982-6. (See Part I, 112-3.)

Isaac Shelby's mother was Letitia Cox (correctly given in Part I, p. 114, inadvertently given as "Scott" on p. 113). There is strong documentary evidence that she was born, not in Frederick Town, but somewhere in Prince George's County, Maryland. She was married to Evan Shelby probably in August, 1744.

Isaac Shelby was not the eldest son of Evan Shelby, being the second son and third child. Susannah Shelby, born about 1746, was the first born child and John Shelby, born about 1748, was the second child and eldest son. Evan Shelby brought to Virginia five



sons: John, Isaac, Evan, Moses and James. A younger daughter, Catherine, was married to Captain James Thompson. (Part I, 113.)

Within recent years the remains of General Evan Shelby have been removed from his original grave and re-interred in East View Cemetery, Bristol. (Part I, 114.)

In Part I, 133, twelfth line from bottom should read (in part):  
“ . . . it was *not* supposed . . . ”

In Part I, 134, the last two lines should read: “opened at St. Asaph’s on October 13, 1779; and again at St. Asaph’s, on April 26, 1780, after various sessions at Harrodsburg and elsewhere, the court announced that its.”

In Part I, 135, line 11, “1778” is a misprint for “1776.”

There is good reason to believe that the “Captain I. Shelby” referred to in Clark’s *Memoir*, is not Isaac, but James Shelby. The “J” was misread “I.” At this time, Isaac Shelby was a Major, under commission from Governor Jefferson of Virginia. It is uncertain whether this James Shelby was a brother or a cousin of Isaac Shelby. (Part I, 136.)

In Part I, 141, foot-note 49, line 2, “eighty-three” is a misprint for “sixty-three.”

## NEGRO SOLDIERS

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK

In view of the enlistment of negroes as soldiers in the present war, it may be of interest to note the part that they have taken as soldiers in our previous wars.

In the Revolutionary War there was no small number of negroes who served as soldiers. These were mostly free negroes, but no small part of them were slaves, who served, usually, but not always, as substitutes for their owners under promise of freedom at the end of the war. This promise was usually kept, but not always. An act of the Virginia Legislature passed in 1783, recites that every slave who had enlisted upon the faith of a promise of freedom from his master should be declared free accordingly, and directed the Attorney-General of that State to institute proceedings in all cases where the promise had not been complied with, and that the court on proof, should enter a decree of emancipation. It is greatly to the credit of that State that such act should have been passed.

In North Carolina it does not appear that such act was necessary, however, as the only statute is one enfranchising a certain negro, Ned Griffin, of Edgecombe, whose master, William Kitchen, had promised him his liberty on condition of service in the Continental line of this State for twelve months, which he had done, and the act declared him a free man. Laws 1784, ch. 70. Laws 1779, ch. 12, validated the freedom of all slaves who had served in the army under the promise of being free.

These negroes, whether freemen, or slaves, enlisting under a promise of freedom, did not serve in separate organizations, but in the ranks with the white soldiers. This appears in the diary of Hugh McDonald of this State, and also in other memoirs and diaries of those times.

In the first collision between the Americans and the British soldiers in Boston the leader of the popular revolt was Crispus

Attucks, a free negro, who was killed by the soldiers, and whose statue today stands on the Boston Commons.

At the battle of Bunker Hill, Peter Salem, a negro slave who had volunteered on promise of freedom, behaved with conspicuous courage, and it was he who shot Major Pitcairn in reply to a summons to surrender. Bancroft says that "In the forces under Washington the free negroes had representatives in various companies and regiments, and their names are preserved on the pension list of the nation." At that time slavery existed in all the Colonies and, the draft laws covering only "free persons," no slaves were drawn except those who went on promise of freedom or as substitutes for their masters. These served usually in the ranks with the other soldiers, but it is recorded that Major Samuel Lawrence of Groton, Mass., raised a command composed entirely of free negroes. The Continental Congress passed an act forbidding the acceptance or retention of such as were "still held in bondage," and thereupon the practice obtained of conferring freedom upon those slaves who served as substitutes for their masters, or voluntarily.

Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, on one occasion moved Congress that "all negroes be dismissed from the Continental armies." This was overwhelmingly defeated and, when later, Congress issued an order directing that negro soldiers who were slaves should be rejected, General Washington replied that the negroes "are very much dissatisfied at being discarded, and, as it is apprehended that refusal to use them may induce them to seek employment from the enemy, I have taken the liberty to suspend your resolution concerning them." Congress thereupon reconsidered and repealed the resolution.

After the battle of Monmouth Washington's army returns showed 755 colored soldiers present for duty, being about a tenth of the army. In 1778 Rhode Island passed an act enlisting all men of color of the draft age with a provision that those who were slaves should be free from the time of joining. This was followed by Massachusetts and New

York. Sir Henry Clinton, the British Commander-in-Chief, issued a proclamation offering bounties to all negroes who would desert to his standard, which was also done by Cornwallis and Tarleton in the South. Mr. Jefferson wrote that this action had cost Virginia 30,000 able bodied slaves in one year. To meet the British offer, Madison, Generals Greene and Lincoln, and other leading patriots advocated a general recruiting of the Continental forces by offering emancipation to the slaves. This was not, however, generally done, but there was a considerable number of slaves who obtained freedom by serving as substitutes for their owners or their sons in the army.

In the War of 1812 there were a great many colored men who served in the ranks, thruout the country, but there is no available record that at that time any slaves in the South were admitted as substitutes or otherwise on condition of freedom. There were a good many who went over to the enemy on condition of freedom, and two battalions of negroes served at New Orleans under Jackson. In New York two regiments of "freemen of color" were raised to receive the same pay and allowance as whites, and there was a proviso that "any able bodied slave" in that State might enlist "with the written assent of his master and mistress who were to receive his pay," while the negro was to be set free on his honorable discharge. After the battle of New Orleans General Andrew Jackson, in his proclamation, bore emphatic testimony to the part borne by negro troops in that great victory and their bravery and good conduct during their service under him. The British had two regiments of West India negroes in that battle.

During the Civil War 180,000 negroes served in the Union Army. Some of these were from the North, and served either under the draft or as volunteers, but by far the greatest part of them were fugitive slaves who served in northern regiments, either as substitutes, or upon payment of bounties given

by townships and counties in the North to fill up their required quotas under the draft.

The Confederate government was asked by General Lee in the fall of 1864 to conscript slaves as soldiers, offering them freedom, but this was opposed by President Davis and others, and the act did not pass till February, 1865, and only a few companies were raised. We often conscripted free negroes, and sometimes slaves, to build forts and breastworks. Those surrounding Raleigh were thus built.

It is believed that with very rare exceptions the colored Union troops in the Civil War served as separate organizations, as now, tho officered by white men. This was true during our Spanish War in 1898. This State, however, which sent two regiments of white soldiers to that war, sent one regiment of colored troops, officered entirely by colored officers, from its Colonel, James H. Young, down.

In the United States Regular Army, ever since the Civil War, there has been several regiments of colored troops, but these have been officered entirely by white men, as only one colored man has ever graduated at West Point.

In the present war there are probably 200,000 colored troops in the United States Army, most of whom have white officers, tho there are some company officers of color. The British and French have many colored troops, of whom the Senegalese are exceptionally brave. It is related that when some American colored troops landed at a French port they were delighted to see colored troops ashore, and commenced talking to them in English, supposing that all negroes spoke our tongue. They proved, however, to be troops from French Africa.

The conduct of the negro troops has generally been good in peace, as well as in war. There was a painful exception in the emeute at Brownsville, Texas, some years ago, and also in the recent riot in a colored regiment at San Antonio, for which some thirty or forty of the colored soldiers were hanged



by the government for mutiny. It seems that on both occasions whiskey was at the bottom of the trouble.

The history of our wars shows that colored men, when well led by competent officers, have always shown up as brave soldiers. The two instances named of misconduct seem to be exceptions to their general good conduct and orderly behavior in time of peace.

What is said above refers only to colored slaves. Those acquainted with our Colonial history know, however, that there were many Indian slaves in the Colonies, especially in New England, and some of them in North Carolina, and not a few white slaves. The latter were usually sent to this country from Great Britain to serve out a sentence for crime and sometimes for debt. Among these white slaves was the Lieutenant Colonel of a North Carolina regiment, who on his march to Germantown, with his regiment in 1777 was humiliated by being recognized and claimed in Maryland as a slave, he having escaped thence to North Carolina where he had served an honorable career and risen in life. Massachusetts sold most of her Indian slaves in the West Indies, bringing in return cargoes from Guinea of Africans, who they said were better adapted for work. Among those who, after the Pequot War, Massachusetts sold to the West Indies, were the wife and son of King Philip, the former being the daughter of Massasoit, who had been the best friend whom the Colonists of that Province had ever had, and who had rendered the whites notable service.

Probably the most distinguished colored soldier was General Thomas Alexandre Dumas who served under Napoleon, and at one time was commander in chief of the army of the Eastern Pyrenees. He was the son of a West India negro mother, and to his son Alexandre Dumas the elder, the famous novelist, we are indebted for the famous novels "Monte Cristo," the "Three Musketeers," with its famous trio Porthos, Athos, and Aramis, and the greatest of all D'Artagnan,

"The Forty-five Guardsmen," and others. Hannibal and his Carthaginians were not negroes, though from Africa.

The free negroes voted in North Carolina till 1835, and under the Federal Constitution three-fifths of the slave population was taken as a basis in the apportionment for members of Congress. Republican disgust at finding that by emancipation, which made negroes freemen, the basis was changed and twenty new members of Congress had been given to the South, is said to have been a strong motive for passing the XV Amendment.

## NORTH CAROLINA'S DEAD

At the unveiling of the monument and statue to the Confederate dead at Morganton, 22 January, 1918, the address was delivered by Chief Justice Clark. The following extract from his speech is of more than passing interest:

As against 2,850,000 men in the Union line, the South, first and last, was able to send to the front about 650,000. Of these North Carolina sent 125,000, or nearly one-fifth of the whole number. Of these, 43,000 of our best and bravest, being one-third, came not home again.

They sleep where the silver Shenandoah sweeps along; some rest on the heights at Gettysburg; some sleep by the sounding sea at Charleston; others at Vicksburg.

"By the great inland river, whence the fleets of iron have fled,  
And the green grass quivers above the ranks of the dead";

on the plains of Chickamauga and where the Georgian pines are bare; around Petersburg, in the swamps of the Chickahominy and where Potomac's "breezes answering low sooth many a soldier's endless sleep."

Across the fields of yesterday they come back to us, as we knew and remember them, in all the splendor of their young manhood. Age has not withered them. Time and trouble have not touched them. The Roman poet said that it was "sweet to die for one's country." It was glorious for them to pass in the prime of their powers, with the sunlight of victory on their faces and fronting the morning. They died in the full assurance and confident hope of our ultimate success. They saw not the torn and tattered battle flags furled forever at Appomattox. The bugle did not ring out for them, as for you, the final call to stack arms. No drums beat for them the retreat. Their ears caught only the sound of the reveille. They live in immortal youth.

## OTHER NORTH CAROLINA HEROINES

BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON

During these exciting and troublous times of the world's existence when woman is constantly engaged in the service of her country, helping in ways heretofore unknown, giving freely of her time in unstinted service and keeping her purse ever open, it will be interesting, perhaps, to look backward thru the pages of history and gather notes of the spirit of patriotism and heroism of our brave and loyal women patriots, whose deeds have been recorded, and whose sufferings show what our foremothers endured, that they may inspire us to bear nobly whatever trials may be in store. While they were subjected to innumerable privations their lot seems incomparable with the barbarities imposed by "the fiery Hun" upon the weaker population of grief-stricken Belgium and the devastated regions of Northern France and Poland. It was with the British and Tories we were waging a civilized war, not barbarians whose hearts hesitate at no cruelties. That struggle for independence fortunately took place one hundred and forty-eight years ago, during which period the United States of America have developed into one of the leading world powers, whereby she is now able to express to her splendid ally—France—the gratitude of an appreciative people and to render to her mother country the duty of a worthy offspring.

North Carolina's record of her heroic women is indeed meager, and many of her heroines are known by name only with sparse local tradition as proof their bravery. Of quite a number just one brave incident can be cited, which can be accepted as indicative of their conduct during the Revolutionary War. Among the latter can be found the names of Mrs. Elizabeth Forbis, Mrs. Mary Morgan, Mrs. Rachel Denny, Mrs. Sarah Logan, Mrs. Elizabeth McGraw, Miss Ann Fergus, Mrs. Margaret Caruthers and Miss Margaret McBride.

Caruthers, in *The Old North State in 1776*, has preserved their records from oblivion, but since that rare volume has long since been out of print and few copies are to be found, to give these noble women further recognition, this brief sketch is presented thru the columns of THE BOOKLET.

Among the staunch and brave patriots who were mortally wounded at the Battle of Guilford Court House was Colonel Arthur Forbis. In that same engagement, under his command, was his brother-in-law, Thomas Wiley, also a brave, unwavering Whig, who was wounded. Possessing similar loyalty to the patriotic cause, Elizabeth Forbis, née Wiley, wife of Colonel Forbis, bore with fortitude and patience her severe and continued trials and sufferings. Coming from such stock, it is no marvel that she displayed unusual traits of character, of which the following is illustrative.

Several days after the Battle of Guilford Court House Thomas Morgan, who lived a mile and a half west of the Forbis home, found wandering on his premises two horses whose "bobbed tails" showed that they were the property of the British and Tories, since the horses of the American cavalry were distinguished from that of the enemy by having long tails. These he felt he had a right to appropriate, for the British and Tories had seized all available property of the Whigs.

Mr. Morgan, knowing that Mrs. Forbis was now in dire need of a horse and in a destitute condition, presented her with one the morning following. Colonel Forbis was either dead or dying of his wounds; the Tories had cleared the plantation of almost all cattle, provisions, grain, etc.; her eldest boy was a mere lad of thirteen or fourteen years and could only plough a gentle animal, her sole means of making a crop. This gift she accepted thankfully and immediately put her son to the plough handle. However, on the next day as he was turning furrows in a corn field and the mother was dropping corn after the plough and covering it with a hoe, two



young men appeared on the scene and demanded the return of the horse then in the plough, one claiming it was his own. Mrs. Forbis did not dream the men were from the British Army, then thirty or forty miles south of that locality on the way to Wilmington. With this demand she flatly refused to comply. It was repeated two or three times, she still refusing to obey, when he ordered the lad to take the horse from the plough. She forbade her son to do so, he standing resolute, looking from her to the enemy, respecting the one and fearing the other, but obeying the mother. Thereupon the man stepped forward to unfasten the traces himself, and instantly she sprang in front of him, with a hoe raised high above her head, and with a firm expression and determined manner, declared that if he touched the horse "she would split his head with the hoe." This act produced the desired effect—the horse remained in her plough and was never molested again.

Mrs. Forbis lived to enjoy the independence of her country many years, attaining an honorable old age, noted for her cheerful disposition and as a warm-hearted Christian character.

Of Colonel Forbis' sister and near neighbor, Mrs. Mary Morgan, wife of Thomas Morgan, this daring feat is related:

At the time the British Army was encamped on the south side of South Buffalo Creek, the same side on which Thomas Morgan lived, on the plantation of Ralph Gorrell, Esq., and from this camp one day a party sallied forth bent on plunder, taking in Colonel Paisley's plantation and later the Morgan home, in the absence of the owner, only Mrs. Morgan and her little brood being present. As the place had frequently experienced visitations of marauding soldiers but little could be found. Still they ransacked the dwelling from cellar to garret, as well as the kitchen and smoke-house, corn-crib and barn, leaving naught in their wake. In the interval Mrs. Morgan's active mind was at work and the thought occurred to her to retaliate by removing the valise from the saddle of

the commanding officer and dropping it in an inside corner of the fence among the tall weeds, a few panels below the horse from which it was taken. As they prepared to leave the sun had nearly reached the horizon, and five or six miles lay between them and their camp, there was considerable hurry and confusion which caused the officer in command to overlook the loss of his valise. On opening it, Mrs. Morgan found it to be filled with fine linen shirts, collars, cravats, and other articles which in value far exceeded that which she had lost.

The true Irish wit displayed by Mrs. Rachel Denny has amused many a listener. She was the wife of Walter Denny, a strict elderly Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, who dwelt far down on North Buffalo Creek, as staunch in his Whig principles as true to his religious faith and highly esteemed throughout the neighborhood. During his absence from home when the British Army was near by, a foraging party under command of the proper officer invaded his home, pillaging every repository of his possession. During this trying ordeal the old lady, his wife, sat by utterly helpless in the presence of the commanding officer, who sat near amusing himself with her. Thus she saw flour, meat and meal as well as blankets she had made with her own hands seized by ruthless hands. The officer began by asking her where her husband was, to which she replied she did not know. If she did know would she tell, was the next question. Kindly she said "No, and no gentleman of honorable feelings would ever ask or expect such a thing." When asked if she was not afraid that he would be caught and hung as a rebel, she replied, "as he was engaged in a good cause, he was in good hands, and she hoped he would be protected." After cursing her most profanely he informed her he thought "the women in that part of the country as damned rebels as the men, and that one-half of them, at least, ought to be shot or hung." To all this she did not reply.

Spying a Bible and a hymn-book on the table, he exclaimed

that he presumed "the old man prayed every day in his family." To this Mrs. Denny added that when at home they usually had family prayers. "Well, does he ever pray for King George?" followed in a sneering, haughty air. She gave an indirect answer. He then told her emphatically she must tell him "He *must* pray for King George." Very indifferently she replied that perhaps a good man might pray for the salvation of his soul, "not for the success of his arms; for he had sinned so long and so much that there was very little encouragement to pray even for his *salvation*, and to pray for the success of his arms when they were employed to oppress and to enforce obedience to unrighteous authority, would be praying in direct opposition to the instructions of the Bible, which would be offensive to God as it would be useless to man." Whereupon the officer told her that her husband must pray for the king or be treated as a rebel. "Ah, indeed," said Mrs. Denny, "he has been denounced as a rebel long ago, and no thanks to you nor King George either that he still lives to defend his country." "Well," he replied, "do you tell him that he must pray for King George tonight, for I intend to come or send men to ascertain, and if he does not, I will have him taken and hung up to the limb of that oak tree in the yard." "Aye, fa'th," retorted the brave old dame, with consummate nonchalance, "Aye, fa'th, an' monny a prayer has been wasted upon King George."

The young Lieutenant, baffled, summoned his men as the sun was fast sinking in the west and quickly galloped back to camp, taking with them considerable plunder, but by no means all of Mr. Denny's abundance.

During the stormy days of the Revolution the women were just as willing as the men to suffer and share privations with them. The country being thinly settled, they were much isolated and had to face innumerable perils. Frequently the quick wit and ready, proper word of some intelligent woman achieved a decided triumph. To this class could be assigned Mrs. Sarah Logan, noted for her repartee, excellent sense and

kindness of heart, and who was universally esteemed. She was a native of North Carolina, though after her marriage she lived in South Carolina, near the dividing line. Many incidents occurred that testified to her patriotism, judgment, character and ready wit. This one related here in particular is illustrative of her varied experiences.

One morning in November when the air was cold and frosty four or five Tories swooped down upon her home in the absence of her husband. They were known to her by sight and name, though they were not of her class. She spied them as soon as they entered the lane and at once guessed their purpose. She instantly resolved to devise some scheme by which to safeguard her property against their pillage.

They rode up and hitched their horses to the fence within a few feet of the house and entered without ceremony. Mrs. Logan feigned a cordial welcome and invited them to be seated, adding that such cold weather, after a long ride, they must be cold and insisted on their sitting nearer the fire, on which she had more wood piled. She inquired of the health of their families, of the neighborhood; in fact, received these avowed enemies bent on pillage as graciously as though they were friends. She apologized for the upturned state of her house, claiming that her duties of housecleaning had been neglected for a sick child and was just so engaged as they approached, that if they would excuse her giving annoyance she would proceed and finish in two or three minutes. She swept vigorously, raising a cloud of dust. She next began making up the bed, beating the feathers and seizing sheets and bedspread and blankets, taking each at a time, she stood on the door-step and shook them violently, making a great noise and flutter as each spread out on the breeze. The horses became alarmed, one broke loose, then another, until all severed their bridles and galloped in every direction. The Tories, realizing that their steeds were more valuable than any plunder to be procured at the Logans', took to their heels in hot pursuit, catching, as they bolted, Mrs. Logan's regrets—

“very sorry”—“what a pity.” Thus kindness proved of more service than the sword or a sharp retort.

There lived in Surry County, near Mount Airy, during the “Old War” (as the old people termed the Revolution) Mrs Eliabeth McGraw. She was prior to her marriage to Jacob McGraw a Miss Waller, daughter of George Waller of Henry County, Virginia. Both she and her husband were staunch Whigs; therefore their home was naturally an objective point with the bands of Tories scouring that section. Still an account of one raid is handed down in that locality. It occurred on a bitterly cold night when Jacob McGraw was away from home and his wife was the sole white person on the place. When she ascertained they were approaching she made all the negroes who could leave run and seek some hiding place, and in the meantime she engaged busily in wrapping the pickaninnies in the tow that had been *hackled* from flax that day, dressed and secreted them in a closet, just finishing as the Tories burst into the house. They searched the place from top to bottom, but, strange to say, missed locating the little negroes concealed in the tow. They appropriated all valuables and lastly took from the cupboard Mrs. McGraw’s shining pewter plates. Thru the rims of each they bored holes and ran a hickory withe which they carried along with them. Years after Mrs. McGraw had the peculiar experience of taking dinner at a neighbor’s when the meal was served from her own pewter plates with holes in the rims. She attained a great age, dying near Mount Airy in 1836.

Even amid the horrors of war people can and do relax from their responsibilities and sufferings long enough to engage in diverting festivities, better perhaps for the change. During Major Craig’s occupancy of Wilmington he and his officers attended many balls and other entertainments. Tradition still keeps alive in New Hanover amusing things that took place at these social affairs. One anecdote, though ludicrous, that has not been lost, concerned Miss Ann Fergus, a



lass of a wealthy Scotch family of fine social standing. She possessed a superior intellect, was well educated. Exceedingly tall—five feet ten inches—but when wearing the high heel slippers of that period, as she would have done at a ball, she must have measured fully six feet. One of her brothers was in the Patriot Army, possibly also a lover. One evening she attended a ball at which a number of British officers were present. Among them was an exceedingly diminutive man, full of conceit, who was most persistent in his attentions to the American ladies, being both impertinent and presumptuous, as his conduct to Miss Fergus proved. During the evening he sought her out and asked for a kiss. With all seriousness and perhaps *hauteur* she replied “Yes, he might have one, if he could take one without getting upon a stool.” Whereupon he tiptoed and stretched his neck and she drew herself up to her full height, and he “couldn’t come it.” The whole company present were intensely amused at so ludicrous a spectacle. Ridicule caused his instant flight as well as brought to an end his attentions to American belles.

It is not often that a woman possesses such spirit of daring and bravery that she is willing to attack an enemy of the other sex, assuming the role of aggressor. Of such type was Mrs. Margaret (Gillespie) Caruthers, a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, who settled with her husband, James Caruthers, in middle North Carolina some time prior to the Revolution. Her family included four sons and several daughters, all eventually becoming useful citizens and church members. Three of her sons served in the Revolution. The eldest, Robert, being a partisan leader, won the rank of captain and was very active, being almost always on duty. The youngest, who was retained at home to protect his parents and attend to the farm, met death at the hands of Tories disguised as Indians, as strong circumstantial evidence proved. His dead body was found by a creek on the plantation almost in sight of the house. He had gone to a neighbor’s, two miles distant on an errand. The report of a gun drew his mother

and sisters to the spot to find him dead, scalped with a bloody knife bearing the name of a neighbor, lying near his head. Ever after when the said neighbor met a member of the family his countenance expressed guilt and he manifestly shunned them. Thus deprived of her main support, with her husband, not infirm but passed the draftable age, compelled for safety to conceal himself, she found herself unprotected, especially during the trying year of 1780. Her wonderful self-possession never failed her in time of danger. Her firmness and energy of character, combined with the "spirit of '76," rendered her far from helpless in emergencies.

Not long after the tragedy just recounted, two Tories, neighbors, came to plunder her premises. They at once attempted to steal a fine young black mare, of unusual beauty and splendid qualities, which they brought out and hitched to a shade tree on the west side of the house." After packing up all provisions, blankets, etc., to be found in the house they entered the corn-crib to fill their bags with corn. The quaint form of crib of that day had an opening thru which a man must thrust one leg, next his head "and with his body laid beside the projecting leg force himself thru, with the other leg resting on the floor, and, at the same time, as it was raised a foot or two above the ground, held by the side with the left hand lest when the center of gravity passed the sill, he might go faster and further than he wanted." The thieves were busy over their grain when Mrs. Caruthers hid the black mare in the cellar, locking the door. Then she took a stick of hickory, intended for an axe-handle, laid by to season in the chimney corner, twice the size of a dressed article, which she concealed under her apron and stood at the corner of the crib. As each appeared she beat upon him so successfully that he could neither defend himself nor return the blows, and both fled in haste, leaving their plunder behind and never again did they dare to enter the Caruthers home.

The name of Betsy Dowdy is universally known and her bravery can never be forgotten, while the name of Margaret

McBride is familiar to comparatively few and of the service rendered her country little is known. As her surname implies she was of a Scotch-Irish family. Hanty McBride, a resident of Guilford, was a man of good standing in the neighborhood where he lived and died, some seven or eight miles south of Greensboro, midway between Alamance and Buffalo creeks. He was a member of Dr. Caldwell's congregation, and a true Whig. Too old for military duty, he served his country when possible. His large family was comprised of nearly all daughters. Of one son, Isaiah, the oldest, we learn that he was in several campaigns.

In 1781 Margaret, or Maggie, as her family and neighbors called her, was a pretty lass of thirteen or fourteen summers and well grown for her years. She was full of life, but discreet and had the courage to express her convictions. With winsome ways and abounding enthusiasm, she was naturally a favorite. She gloried in being a Whig and hated the Tories. A certain tract of land four or five miles wide, ten or twelve in length, between North and South Buffalo creeks, lay to the north and northwest of Hantz McBride's. This included the present site of Greensboro and ran along both sides of the Hillsboro road to Buffalo Bridge. This was not inhabited and was traversed only by roads connecting the two settlements. As pine was the principal growth it was called the "Pine Woods," or "Pine Barrens." People did not settle there because the land was considered too thin. It afforded fine pasturage for cattle. At intervals rich and well-watered glades existed like oases of the desert. In the first days of autumn, 1781, a band of Tories from southern Guilford or northern Randolph pitched camp in one of these fairy dells. The Whigs were thick on the outskirts of the "Barrens" and some were wavering. These the Tories in question visited and exerted no good influence over them. The true Patriots became uneasy—something must be done, and accordingly a band bent on retaliation was organized, though none knew the exact location of the camp. It was thought that the

McBrides knew of it if any one did, so to that home they repaired one evening just after dark. Hantz McBride, of course, was absent, the mother, Maggie and other children were there. The captain, after ascertaining they were staunch Whigs, inquired whether there was a Tory camp in the "Piney Woods." She understood there was. When asked for directions to find it, she answered as intelligently and as best she could, little Maggie by her side now then adding a word of explanation. The captain observed her interest and said courteously, "Well, now, my little Miss, could you go along to show us the way?" This startled her. Objections she urged—going off with a party of soldiers, all strangers; then the fighting, etc. The captain insisted. She *reckoned* she might go; they must promise not to fire on the Tories till she left them. They consented, so she mounted behind the commander and they rode off at full speed. It was agreed that she should remain with the band until they came in sight of the place, when she was to fly back home, it being impossible for her to be taken into the battle in the darkness. She was firm in her determination to render this invaluable service to the Whigs, and never faltered when so much was at stake. The spot was familiar to her as she had frequently been there when hunting the cows on summer evenings with the other children.

As they approached the camp near enough for the sound of the horses' feet to be heard, they proceeded with great caution and Margaret McBride was straining her eyes and craning her neck to ascertain the exact spot. Finally she exclaimed, "Yonder they are," and sprang from the captain's horse, returning home with the agility of a native of the forest. As soon as she alighted on the ground the party dashed forward at a gallop, took the camp by surprise, firing a good volley as a greeting on approach. Before the brave little heroine had passed over much ground, she heard the report of twenty or thirty pistols and the clash of sabres, with shouts of victory and cries of the assailed, all of which made

her run but the faster. On reaching home she proudly informed her mother that "those miserable Tories have got a lesson tonight which they will not soon forget, and I hope they will no longer be a pest and a reproach to the country." "Why, my daughter," replied Mrs. McBride, "You didn't stay to see what was done?" "Why, mother, as soon as we came in sight, I jumped down and started back as hard as I could, but I had come a very little distance—it didn't seem to be a minute—till I heard ever so many guns, and then such slashing and hallooing—you never heard the like. I just know the ugly things are used up, and we shall now be clear of them. Well, I do feel sorry for them after all—really sorry. Just think how they will be cut up and run off like as many sheep-killing dogs; but then they had no business to be Tories. If they are so mean and pusillanimous that they want to be slaves or foot-pads to King George, let them not stay here and try to make us as degraded as themselves, but go to his own country and serve him there. We have no use for them here and I am so glad they are gone."

The Tory den was completely broken up. All that were not killed fled, and henceforth the "Pine Barrens" of Guilford knew neither them nor their like again.

When Margaret McBride grew to womanhood a few years later she married and, with her husband, moved westward with the tide of emigration that laid the foundation of some of our great States of today, and nothing was known of this brave heroine of old Guilford.

North Carolina can well be proud of her women from the earliest days when the hardships and perils of life led by the first settlers in the wilderness were patiently borne, during the stormy times of the Revolution, of the War between the States and, lastly, of the response they are giving to the demands of this present-day world conflict.



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